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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES



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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., LL.D., VAGISA, I.C.S. (RETIRED),

FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY; CORRESPONDENT STRANGER DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE (ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES-LETTRES); HONORARY FELLOW OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY AND OF THE ROYAL DANISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ÉLÉMENTAIRE FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION, THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, THE SOCIÉTÉ ÉTUDES COURRIÈRES, THE ASSOCIATION PHONÉTIQUE INTERNATIONALE, THE EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN LINGUISTIC SOCIETY, AND THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION; VISITING ASSOCIATE MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE DE PARIS; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE VAN WISSENSCHAPPEN EN LETTEREN; VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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- Vol. I. Introductory.
- " II. Môn-Khmêr and Tai families.
- " III. Part I. Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam.
- " " II. Bodo, Nâgâ, and Kachin groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- " " III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- " IV. Mundâ and Dravidian languages.
- " V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group.
- Part I. Bengali and Assamese.
- " II. Bihârî and Oṛiyâ.
- " VI. Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group (Eastern Hindi).
- " VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group (Marâṭhî).
- " VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group.
- Part I. Sindhî and Lahnda.
- " II. Dardic, or Piśācha, languages (including Kāshmīrî).
- " IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group.
- Part I. Western Hindî and Pañjābî.
- " II. Rājasthānî and Gujarātî.
- " III. Bhîl languages, Khândēśî, etc.
- " IV. Pahārî languages.
- " X. Eranian family.
- " XI. " Gipsy " languages.



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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

A.—For the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet, and others related to it—

अ a,	आ ā,	इ i,	ई ī,	उ u,	ऊ ū,	ऋ ṛi,	ॠ ṛe,	ए ai,	ओ o,	औ au,
क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ ṅa	च cha	छ chha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ña	
ट ta	ठ tha	ड ḍa	ढ ḍha	ण ṇa	त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na	
प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma	य ya	र ra	ल la	व va or wa		
श ṣa	ष ṣha	स sa	ह ha	ड़ ṛa	ढ़ ṛha	ळ ḷa	ळ ḷha			

Visarga (:) is represented by *h*, thus क्रमः *kramah*. Anunāira (◌̣) is represented by *m*, thus सिंह *siṃh*, वंश *vaṃś*. In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*; thus बंग *baṅg*. Anunāsika or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign ◌̣ over the letter nasalized, thus मै *mē*.

B.—For the Arabic alphabet, as adapted to Hindōstānī—

ا a, etc.	ح f	د d	ر r	س s	ع g
ب b	خ ch	ذ ḍ	ز z	ش sh	غ gh
پ p	ق q	ط ṭ	ظ ṭh	ص ṣ	ف f
ت t	ك kh			م m	ق q
ث t				ن n	ك k
ج j				ه h	ك g
				و w	ل l
				ي y	م m
					ن n
					و when representing anasāra in Dēva-nāgarī, by ~ over nasalized vowel.
					و w or v
					ا h
					ي y, etc.

Tanwin is represented by *n*, thus إِنْشَاء *faṭṭān*. Alif-e maqṣūra is represented by *a*;—thus دَعْوَى *da'wa*.

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus بَنْد *banda*. When pronounced, it is written,—thus غُنَّاه *gunāh*.

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus बन *ban*, not *hana*. When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindī) देखता *dēkh'tā*, pronounced *dēkhtā*; (Kāsh-mīrī) देख *dēkh*; कह *kah*, pronounced *kor*; (Bihārī) देखिय *dēkhiy*.

C.—Special letters peculiar to special languages will be dealt with under the head of the languages concerned. In the meantime the following more important instances may be noted:—

- (a) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (च), Paṣtō (ټ), Kāshmirī (ټ, च), Tibetan (ཅ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsʰ*.
- (b) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ज), Paṣtō (ځ), and Tibetan (ཇ) is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzʰ*.
- (c) Kāshmirī (ञ) is represented by *ñ*.
- (d) Sindhi (ڄ), Western Pañjābī (and elsewhere on the N.-W. Frontier) (ڄ), and Paṣtō (چ or ڄ) are represented by *ṣ*.
- (e) The following are letters peculiar to Paṣtō:—
 ټ *t*; ځ *dz* or *dzʰ*, according to pronunciation; ډ *d*; ځ *r*; ځ *zh* or *g*, according to pronunciation; ځ *ph* or *kh*, according to pronunciation; ځ or ځ *p*.
- (f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhi:—
 ٻ *bb*; ٻ *bh*; ٻ *th*; ٻ *t*; ٻ *th*; ٻ *ph*; ٻ *ff*; ٻ *jh*; ٻ *chh*;
 ٻ *ñ*; ٻ *dh*; ٻ *d*; ٻ *dd*; ٻ *dh*; ٻ *k*; ٻ *kh*; ٻ *gg*; ٻ *gh*;
 ٻ *ṣ*; ٻ *ṣ*.

D.—Certain sounds, which are not provided for above, occur in transcribing languages which have no alphabet, or in writing phonetically (as distinct from transliterating) languages (such as Bengali) whose spelling does not represent the spoken sounds. The principal of these are the following:—

<i>ā</i> ,	represents the sound of the <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> .
<i>ā</i> ,	" " " <i>a</i> in <i>hat</i> .
<i>ē</i> ,	" " " <i>e</i> in <i>met</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	" " " <i>o</i> in <i>hot</i> .
<i>é</i> ,	" " " <i>é</i> in the French <i>était</i> .
<i>o</i> ,	" " " <i>o</i> in the first <i>o</i> in <i>promote</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	" " " <i>ō</i> in the German <i>schön</i> .
<i>ū</i> ,	" " " <i>ū</i> in the " <i>mūke</i> .
<i>th</i> ,	" " " <i>th</i> in <i>think</i> .
<i>dh</i> ,	" " " <i>th</i> in <i>this</i> .

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Mundā languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus *k'*, *l'*, *p'*, and so on.

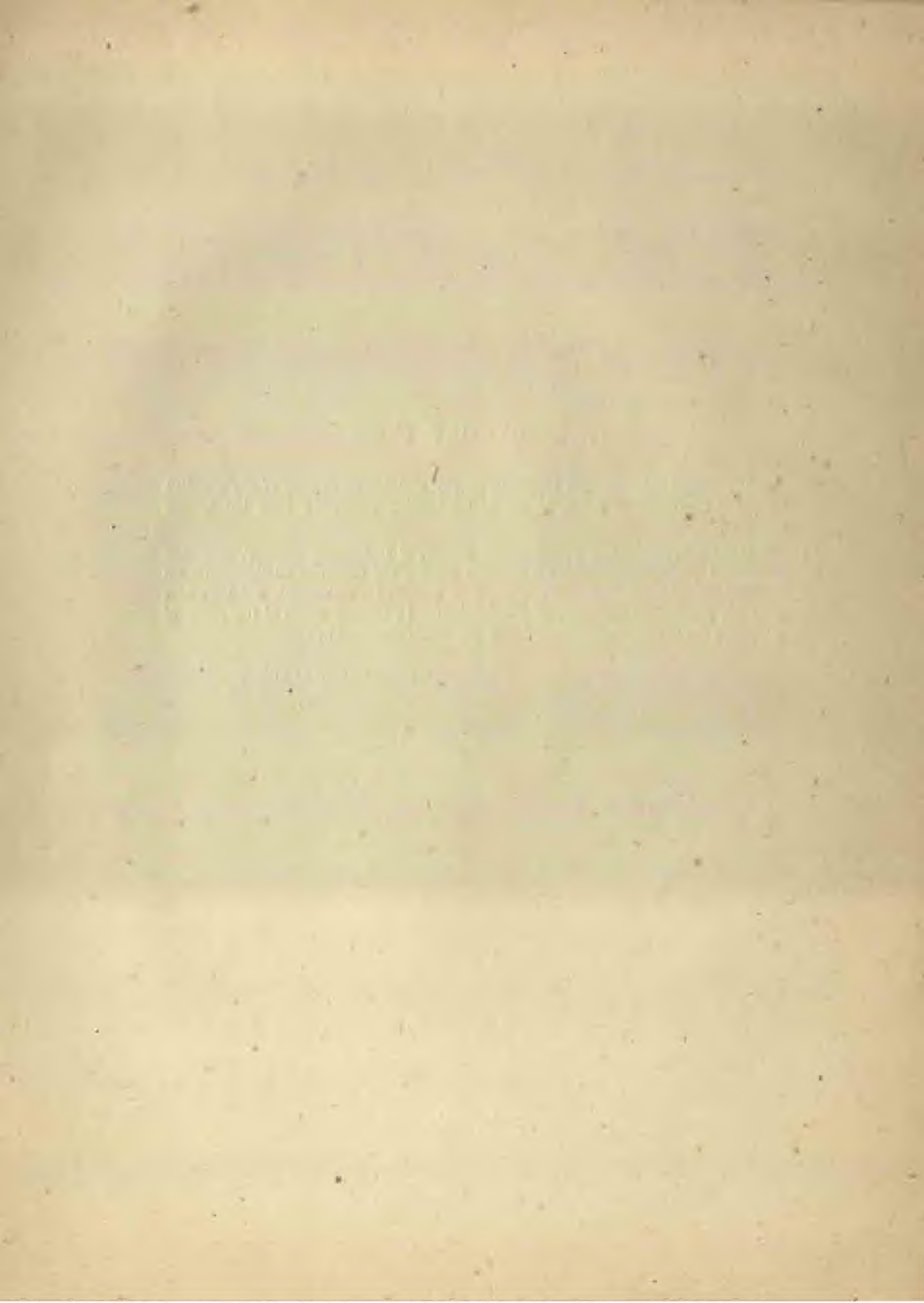
E.—When it is necessary to mark an accented syllable, the acute accent is used. Thus in (Khōwār) *āsisāi*, he was, the acute accent shows that the accent falls on the first, and not, as might be expected, on the second syllable.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present Volume of the Linguistic Survey contains an account of the so-called "Gipsy Languages" of India, so far as information concerning them has become available.

It has been prepared by Professor Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway, who was for several years my Assistant, and to whose learning and unsparing collaboration I am heavily indebted. I have myself carefully gone through his manuscript, and have here and there added a few remarks over my signature. As General Editor of this series of volumes, I am therefore responsible for all statements contained in it.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.



GIPSY LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTION.

Migratory tribes are found all over India, and are of different kinds. Some of them, like the Pendhāris, are descended from adventurers and individuals belonging to various castes and trades; others, like the Banjārās, Ōḍs, and so on, are occupational units, who wander all over the country in pursuance of their trade; others again are much of the same kind as the Gipsies of Europe, tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, or thieves and robbers, who have come under the Criminal Tribes Act.

It has become customary to call these tribes Gipsies, but this designation does not imply any connexion between them and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian, was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe from the beginning of the 15th century, because they described themselves as coming from Egypt. The word has then also come to be used to denote other peoples of similar, migratory, habits, and this is the sense in which it has been used in this Survey. The Gipsy Languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.

Our information about these forms of speech is necessarily limited. Many of these vagrants simply speak the language of their neighbours. Others are bilingual or even multilingual, adopting the speech of the district where they happen to stay in all their dealings with outsiders, but retaining a peculiar dialect of their own when talking among themselves. For this latter purpose many of these tribes have also developed a secret argot, which they commonly call Pārsī, 'Persian,' and they are naturally shy of initiating others into it. These argots will be dealt with below. They have not anything to do with grammar, but are based on some dialect, which may be designated as the home tongue of the tribe. Moreover, such tribes as have not developed any artificial argot, often have a dialect of their own. Such forms of speech cannot, of course, be expected to present the same consistency as ordinary vernaculars. It is a consequence of the migratory habits of the tribes, that their languages are to some extent mixed. Where the base is comparatively uniform and practically identical with one definite tongue, such dialects have, in this Survey, been dealt with in connexion with that form of speech. Thus the dialects of the following vagrant tribes have been described in connexion with Dravidian languages in Vol. IV of this Survey.

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Koṇṣa and Yernkālā	55,118
Kaikāḍī	8,230
Burgapḍī	265
Gōlārī	3,614
Kurnīmā	10,209
Vaḍārī	27,089
TOTAL	104,782

Others have been dealt with in connexion with the Bhil languages in Vol. IX, Part iii, of this Survey, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bāori	43,000
Banjāri	158,500
Chhārapi	1,200
Habārā	950
Pārādhi or Tākūkhāri	8,648
Siyālgiri	120
Tarimāki or Ghisādi (Vol. IX, Part ii)	1,669
Total	214,087

There remain some vagrant tribes, who have, during the operations of this Survey, been reported to possess languages of their own, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Beldāri	5,140
Bhānūti	14
Dām	13,500
Gārōdi	9
Galgullā	853
Kanjari (including Kachlāndhi)	7,085
Kolhāpi	2,307
Lādi	500
Machariā	30
Mulār	2,300
Myārwālā or Lhāri	?
Nāpi	11,534
Ōdi	2,814
Peṇḍhāri	1,250
Qaṣāi	2,700
Sāi	51,550
Sikalgāri	25
Total	101,671

Of these, Machariā was returned from the Kapurthala State as spoken by a tribe of fowlers who had come from Sind. It has turned out to be ordinary Sindhi with a slight admixture of Pañjābī and need not occupy us any more in this place. The remaining Gipsy dialects named above will be described in the ensuing pages. This list is unfortunately far from exhausting the number of such languages. We know that the Chōhrās, the Dalāls, the Naqqāsh, and several other tribes and castes possess secret trade jargons of their own, and many criminal tribes have been described who freely mix their speech with slang words and phrases in order to prevent outsiders from understanding them. No new materials about them have, however, been forwarded for the purposes of this Survey, and I can therefore only refer to such authorities dealing with them as I have come across.

AUTHORITIES—

- MUHAMMAD ABDEL GHAFUR.—*A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by the Criminal Tribes in the Punjab; together with a short history of each tribe, and the names and places of residence of individual members.* For the use of the police and jail officers serving in the Punjab. Lahore: Printed at the Central Jail Press, 1879. Contains Slang terms of Gamblers, pp. 29-30; Piffers or Uthāgiras, pp. 32-38; Khallāt, Uchakkā and Tugā, pp. 38-40; Sansis, pp. 40-51; Doonias, pp. 51-54; Gaudhīlas, pp. 54-58; Sweepers of Delhi District, p. 57; Sweepers of Punjab, pp. 57-59; Harnis, pp. 59-60; Bāurias, pp. 60-61; Minas, p. 62; Meos, pp. 62-63; Akirs and Goojars, p. 64; Thugs, p. 65; Pachhāddas, pp. 65-66.
- LEITCH, G. W., LL.D.—*A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghafūr's Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Punjab.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880. This "Analysis" contains all, and covers almost all, the words and sentences in Abdul Ghafūr's so-called Dictionary.
- LEITCH, G. W., LL.D.—*A Sketch of the Changars and of their Dialect.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880.
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- LEITCH, G. W., LL.D.—*Appendix to "Changars" and Linguistic Fragments. Words and Phrases illustrating the dialects of the Samā and Mā as also of Danwars, Mirdās and Dōms.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882.
- TEMPLE, (Sir) R. C.—*An Examination of the Trade-Dialect of the Nayqāsh or Painters on Papier-mâché in the Punjab and Kashmir.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. liii. Part i. 1884, pp. I and II.
- TEMPLE, (Sir) R. C.—*The Delhi Dalals and their Slang.* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xiv, 1885, pp. 155 and ff.
- BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAM, D.D.—*Notes on Punjabi Dialects.* Continues I. Notes on the Sāsā Dialect, pp. 3 and ff.; II. The Secret Words of the Qāshā, pp. 9 and f.; III. The Argot of Panjābi Gamblers, pp. 11 and f.; IV. The Dialect of the Cāhrā, pp. 13 and ff. Privately printed. No date or place of publication.
- (KENNEDY, M.)—*Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin.* Bombay, 1908.

The various Gipsy tribes have not been distinguished in the language returns of the published Reports of the last Census of 1911. It is therefore difficult to compare the figures with the estimates made for the purposes of this Survey. The total returned under the head of Gipsy languages in 1911 was 28,294 distributed as follows:—

Ajmer-Merwara	209
Bombay	8,362
Central Provinces and Berar	2,274
Panjabi	5,640
United Provinces	1,673
Baroda State	536
Bombay States	2,320
Central India Agency	1,097
Hyderabad State	4,506
Panjabi States	474
Rajputana Agency	436
Other Provinces	681
TOTAL	28,294

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups, ordinary dialects and argots. The former group comprises Beldāri, Bhamṭi, Lāḍi, Ōḍki and Penḍhāri, the latter Dōm, Gārōḍi, Gulguliā, Kanjari, Kōlḥāṭi, Malār, Myānwālā, Naṭi, Qasāi, Sāsī and Sikalgāri. The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy languages described under the head of Bhili in Vol. IX, Part iii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chūhṛās, etc. See Authorities, above.

Within the first of our two groups the Penḍhāris in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion. Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference. Both the Penḍhāris and some of the Bhamṭās speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakhiṇi Hindostāni and Jaipuri. Most Bhamṭās, however, speak Telugu. Lāḍi is in all essentials a form of Jaipuri. The Ōḍs are probably related to the Vādars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidians. Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west. The Beldārs are described as a Dravidian caste. They usually state that they are Rājputās, and Dr. Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ōḍs. The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjārās, Habūrās, and other tribes who now use a form of Bhili. The traditions of both Banjārās and Habūrās point towards Rajputana. Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, i.e. belong to the so-called Dravidian race. Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south. They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana. Dr. Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sāsīs, Kanjars, Naṭs, and so on, i.e. such Indian Gipsies as possess an argot. Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana. Thus the Sāsīs were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chauhān Rājputās. Their first ancestor was, they say, Sās Māl, and his brother Mallanār was again the ancestor of the Kōlḥāṭīs, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sāsīs. They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Naṭs, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana. The Sikalgārs of Benares assert that they were originally Rājputās from Marwar. The Dōms are, according to their traditions, Nishāḍas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vana. Now Bānbans is the name of a modern Rājput sept, which, according to Dr. Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishāḍas is stated in the Mahābhārata (iii, 10538) to begin where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands. The Nishāḍas were, according to the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, forest robbers, and Malāḍhara identifies them with the Bhiliās. In the Agnipurāṇa they are mentioned together with "other dwellers in the Vindhya." It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India. It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, i.e. of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications. We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications. The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular.

If we begin with Sāsī, it will be shown later on that the dialect varies according to the locality in which it is spoken, it being Hindōstānī in the East and a mixture of Hindōstānī and Pañjābī in the Northern Panjab, the stronghold of the tribe. Stray features such as the softening of hard mutes in the dative and genitive suffixes *gu*, *gā* and in words such as *dand*, tooth, are such as are also found in Western Pahārī.¹ The same is the case with the oblique base ending in *ā* in weak bases, just as in Marāṭhī. Forms such as the ablative suffix *thō*; the pronouns *ham*, we; *tam*, you, remind us of Gujarāṭī, but also of Western Pahārī. The dialect of the Sāsīs is closely related to Kōlhātī. The termination *ō* of oblique bases, which is well known from Gujarāṭī and Western Pahārī, is here common. Forms such as *mērē-ku*, to me, remind us of Dakhiṇī Hindōstānī, while the use of the relative base *ja* with the meaning of a demonstrative in forms such as *jobō*, then, is in accordance with the practice in Rājasthānī dialects.

If we now turn to Kanjarī, we again find that the oblique base of weak nouns ends in *ā* or in *ō*, as in Western Pahārī. Strong masculine bases often end in *ō*, plural *ā*, as in Rājasthānī. Demonstrative pronouns such as *jō*, *jī*, that, are also in accordance with the usage in that language. Pronouns such as *urō*, he; *yō*, you; verbal suffixes such as *ir*, *gir*, in the present and past; the frequent use of relative participles; the tendency to form a negative verb, and so forth, perhaps point to the existence of a Dravidian element in the dialect. Kanjarī is a comparatively consistent form of speech and seems to possess less local varieties than many other Gipsy tongues. The Kanjars are ethnographically related to the Sāsīs and Kōlhātīs, and also to the Habūrās. Just as the latter speak Gujarāṭī Bhīlī in the Gangetic Doab, the language of the Kanjars reminds us of Gujarāṭī, Rājasthānī, and Pahārī even in districts where these languages are not home tongues. The Magahiya Dōms of Saran and Champaran speak the current Bhōjpuri of the districts. There is, however, also a tissue of Rājasthānī, and the argot of the Dōms in so many points agrees with that in use among the Kanjars that it is impossible to separate the two. Naṭī also has some features which seem to point towards Rājasthānī, though the dialect underlying the argot of the Naṭs varies very much according to district. Gārḍī is a mixture of Hindōstānī, Eastern Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī, and a similar position must be assigned to the so-called Myānwālē, while Qaṣāī is based on Hindōstānī, Sikalgārī on Gujarāṭī, and Malār on Nāgpuriā. Gulguliā, finally, is too insufficiently known to allow us to say anything definite about its position.

There are accordingly also some philological reasons for supposing a common origin of many of the Gipsy tribes. It will be remembered that they are described as belonging to the Dravidian race and that some of them use Dravidian forms of speech. Most of them, however, so far as they come within the scope of this Survey, speak Aryan tongues. If they are of Dravidian stock, that must be a secondary development. Their original language cannot have been Aryan. Now the existence of a Rājasthānī element in so many Gipsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where Rājasthānī was spoken. It is a curious coincidence that the stronghold of the Bhīls, who must have a similar origin, is found between the territories occupied by

¹ Pahārī is closely related to Rājasthānī. See Vol. IX, Pt. iv, pp. 255, 1035.

Rajasthānī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī. Like many Gipsy languages some Bhil dialects also have weak nouns with an oblique base ending in *ā*. In Gipsy, and in Pahārī, this *ā* is interchangeable with *ō*, which is common in Gujarātī. The theory might be hazarded that this use of an oblique base, of the kind elsewhere found in Marāṭhī, in all these tongues must be due to the existence of a substratum different from Rajasthānī and connected with Marāṭhī. There are also other philological indications that the language of Rajasthan and parts of Central India has once, in the times preceding the Rājput invasion, been more closely connected with Old Marāṭhī.

The conclusion arrived at above that most of these Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. We here find so much correspondence in details that we cannot well refrain from inferring that there is some connexion between these Indian argots. All of them are artificial languages devised for the purpose of enabling those who know them to converse with each other without the risk of being understood by outsiders. Such methods of speaking are in use all over the world, and they are known under different names in the different countries. In England they are called 'cant,' 'slang,' 'thieves' latin,' 'pedlars' French,' 'Saint Giles Greek,' 'flash tongue,' 'gibberish,' and so on, in France 'argot,' in Germany 'Rotwälsch,' in Italy 'gergo,' 'furbesco,' in Spain 'germania,' and so on. Common to all of them is the extensive use of a peculiar vocabulary, and, in addition to this, the practice of disguising common words by means of transpositions and changes of letters. The vocabulary has usually been fetched from the most different sources, or else various figures of speech or associations of ideas lead to the use of well-known words with new meanings. Thus we find in the Spanish argot *Germania galle*, priest, taken from the Hebrew; *dupo*, ignorant, from the French; *londilla*, which is derived from *lon*, salt, and properly signifies a saltcellar, is used with the meaning of 'parlour,' because Spanish *sala*, parlour, suggests *sal*, salt, and so forth. Examples of transpositions from the same argot are *tiscar* for *vista*, view; *grēno* for *negro*, a nigger. Changes of letters are also quite common; compare Rotwälsch *witze* instead of *hitze*, heat. In the Pyrenees we find a device of the same character as the so-called *p-language*. Thus, instead of *jauno*, sir, they may say *jan-pan-na-po* or *jan-gau-na-gra*. This of course is a very common way of producing an argot all over the world. Le Duchat tells us of the existence of a similar slang amongst the children of Metz, who add *dregue* to each syllable; thus *coudregue entregue undregue foudregue*, vous êtes un fou, you are a fool. Still more like our *p-language* is the Indian schoolboys' *Zargari*, where the letter *z* followed by a vowel is added to each syllable; thus *tu-zum kashā jazātisā hūzō* for *tum kahā jāte hō*, where are you going? Dr. Leitner found this *Zargari* in use amongst the thieves of Peshawar, where he heard sentences such as *u-zu-s-ku-zo bu-zu-l-le-zā* for *u-kō bulā*, call him. A similar *z-language* is recorded from Bengal, where we find sentences such as *ammi bosboi desdi-bosbo* for *ami bai dibo*, I will give a book. Sometimes we can observe how similar word-plays take their origin in some new fashion. A certain class of society affects a peculiar way of pronouncing or transforming words, and the compliance with such whims becomes a kind of freemason's token, by which one shows himself as a member of fashionable society. Thus it was usual within certain circles in Paris, about 1830,

to add *mar* to every word, and to speak of *boulangemar* instead of *boulangier*, a baker; *cafemar* instead of *café*, coffee. That such a way of changing common words well deserves to be called an argot, is brought out by a comparison of the cant of the Yūsufzai badmāshes mentioned by Dr. Leitner,¹ where *mīri* is added to every word.

The argots are chiefly used by criminals and disreputable individuals for the sake of secrecy. Their nature is, however, quite the same as that of the various kinds of play languages which we are accustomed to consider as desultory results of children's fancy. All such speeches must be compared, and it is of interest to observe how the methods are the same all over the world, just as a comparison of languages belonging to different linguistic families discloses a high degree of similarity in fundamental principles.

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in

Indian Argots.

sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *ayāra*, dark fortnight; *yavan*, bright fortnight; *sabda*, day; *sagarā*, night; *yanya*, month; *sumēka*, year (*Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* i. 7.2.25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sātras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the Mahābhārata (I. 5754ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhishtira, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.²

There are, at the present day, many different argots in India. Captain, now Sir, R. C. Temple has explained the argot used by the Delhi Dalāls, or Brokers. This is a kind of speech which apparently has a very simple meaning, while some of the words used impart a second, hidden sense to those who are initiated. Thus an apparently innocent use of the numeral two or of words denoting such parts of the body as occur in pairs, conveys the meaning that the Dalāl claims a commission of two annas in the Rupee. Most Indian argots, and all those which are represented in the materials collected for the purposes of this Survey, are, however, of a different kind. They are artificial tongues which do not convey one meaning to the initiated ones and another to outsiders, but which are simply unintelligible to those who have not learnt them. This aim is attained by various means. There is, in the first place, a certain amount of peculiar words which are not used in ordinary speech. Such slang terms are apparently widely used, even by such tribes as have not developed a proper argot. Thus many of the criminal tribes of the Bombay Presidency have got them. Our information on the subject is, however, very imperfect, and it is, in most cases, impossible to state whence they have been taken. It is, on the other hand, noticeable how many of them are identical

¹ *Linguistic Fragments*, p. (xxv).

² The commentator Nilakoptha says that this jargon made use of the language of outcasts (*śūdrakāṇām*), which resembled the language of the country, but was ungrammatical and contained words in which syllables were omitted, added, or altered. He then gives examples.

in different argots. Thus the word *lug*, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjari, Dōm, Naṭī, Gārōḍī, Myānwālē, Gulguliā, and Sīkalgāri; *dāt*, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjari, Naṭī, Myānwālē, and Sīkalgāri; *khum*, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī, and Gārōḍī; *khaul*, *khaulā*, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Naṭī, and Sīkalgāri, and so forth. Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech. Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base. We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources. The same is most certainly the case in India. We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qasāis are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *permi*, or *chañ*, water, with Tibetan *chhu*. The great number of Hebrew words in Rōtwaelsch warns us to be cautious in such matters. Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin. Thus we might compare Kanjari *ṭu-kkulē*, belly, with Kurukh *kāl*; Sāsī *lōnā*, to beat, with Kurukh *lau'ā*; Myānwālē *gēlō*, boy, son, with Yerukala *gōvāḷyū*; Kanjari and Sīkalgāri *pāḍō*, bull, with Tamil *māḍu*; Dōm *ṣignā*, eat, with Tamil *ṭimau*; Sāsī *pāngī*, fire, with Kanarese *benki*; Dōm *kichwā*, fire, with Kurukh *chich*; Kanjari *tīl*, *tiūr*, give, with Tamil *tara*, Savara *tiō*; Kanjari *kidō*, give, with Yerukala *kūḍ*; Myānwālē *hīfwād* (compare Giripāri Sirmauri *hōf*), go, and *baricād*, come, with Kanarese *hō*, go, Tamil *vata*, come, respectively; Sāsī *baunū*, Kōlhāṭī *bōnā*, Naṭī *būnā*, Myānwālē *bōnō*, gold, with Tamil *pon*; Sāsī *kādrā*, horse, with Tamil *kudirei*; Sāsī *khaulā*, Naṭī *kḥōllā*, Sīkalgāri *kḥōl*, Malār *khaul*, house, with Gōlari *kḥōli*, room, Malayālam *kudī*, house; compare Malār *kḥulāō*, husband, and Yerukala *kḥulū*, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with *ṣi* in *taṅḡṣi*, sister; Sāsī *ṭūṇḍā*, Kōlhāṭī *taṇḍe*, Naṭī *ṭuṇḍā*, pig, with Tamil *payri*; Sāsī *binknā*, run, with Kurukh *bōngū*; Kanjari, Sīkalgāri *kḥēḍō*, Qasāi *kḥēḍā*, Kōlhāṭī *chēḍā*, house, with Kanarese *kḥēḍā*; Kōlhāṭī *hēṭṣi*, wife, with Kanarese *beṇḍati*, and so forth. I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots. In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, i.e. past the Vindhya. It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī, etc., the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots; the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjari; the employment of *karkē*, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil *enṇu*, Yerukala *aṇḍa*, Sanskrit *iti*, etc., after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahārī and elsewhere.

Most words in the Indian argots are not, however, so far as we are able to judge with our present imperfect knowledge, peculiar to them, but belong to the common Aryan vocabulary of India. They are then adapted for use by various means of

disguise, just as is the case in European argots. It is noticeable that the transposition of letters after the pattern of the English cant word *icelap*, police, plays a comparatively unimportant rôle in the materials at my disposal. I may note instances such as *Sāsī kābrā*=*bakrā*, goat; *chāmī*=*mōchī*, shoe-maker; *lēp*=*pēt*, belly; *Gārōdi dabō*=*badō*, big, and so forth. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, which then often replace the beginning or the end, respectively, of the word. The details will be mentioned under each argot. In this place I shall only make some general remarks. The simplest way of disguising a word by means of a prefix is exactly the counterpart of the practice in the *p*-language and Zargari. Thus in *Sāsī kha-kāl*, famine; *gha-gal*, neck, the syllables *kha*, *gha*, respectively, have simply been prefixed to the ordinary word. It is, however, still more common to drop the old initial in such cases; thus, *Sāsī khas*=*das*, ten; *jhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry. In some forms of Naṭī we find the initial added again at the end, thus, *mēt-khā*=*khēt*, field. In Malār *chahinbahin*=*bahin*, sister, we see the entire word in its original form added to the disguised word. These two last devices are of course more easily discovered, and they do not seem to be of common occurrence. With regard to prefixes I would add that we can, in a few cases, trace the existence of rules or rather tendencies which pervade all the argots. Thus *k* and *kh* are most commonly prefixed to words beginning with vowels; the palatals *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *jh* are almost exclusively used with such words as begin with labials; *nh* is a substitute for aspirated letters and also for *s*; and *r* is mostly used before or instead of gutturals. The fact that such is the practice in all our argots is a further indication that they have a common base.

The most usual state of affairs with regard to disguising suffixes is illustrated by words such as *Sāsī kauhgā*=*kahā*, said, where a single consonant is added. Words such as *Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī bāp-tā*, father, where a consonant followed by a vowel has been added, are of a similar kind. There are, however, also more complex additions, somewhat like the Parisian *cafemar*=*café*. The most common are additions after verbs, such as *sar* in *Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī ā-sar*, come, and *uar, wār, bār*, in numerous Kanjarī, Dōm, Qasāī, Malār and Myānwālē verbs, and so forth. We can also here notice how the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus *k* or *g* is common after verbs ending in vowels or in *h* in *Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē*, and so on; additions containing an *r* are, as already remarked, common in verbs in many argots; additions such as Dōm *khailā*, Sīkalgārī *khālā*, Kanjarū *ālā*, Myānwālē *ālā*, Malār *la*, are clearly connected with each other. On the whole it seems certain that not only are the general principles the same in the different argots, but that their application in many cases follows identical lines in all of them.

If we take a general view of all the facts, we will

Conclusions.

see that :—

1. the most important Gipsy tribes are classed by ethnologists as forming one race, of Dravidian features, which seem to have long led a migratory life, roaming over most of India;
2. many of them have traditions tracing their origin back to the Rājputs;
3. their dialects also point to the conclusion that the tribes have lived amongst people speaking Rājasthānī dialects, though—

4. some philological features show that there is a sub-structure of languages more related to Marāṭhi than to Rājasthānī ;
5. many of these tribes have developed a secret language based on their dialects ;
6. these argots contain several peculiar words which are common to many of them ;
7. the principles underlying the formation of these cant languages and also their application in individual cases present striking points of analogy in the different tribes ;
8. a certain number of the peculiar cant words seem to be Dravidian ; and
9. some Gipsy tribes speak Dravidian languages.

Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that the various Gipsy languages dealt with in the ensuing pages have a common origin, a language which was once spoken by a tribe of Dravidian race that came under the influence of Aryan tongues in a locality where languages akin to Marāṭhi had been spoken but had to give way to Rājasthānī. This would take us to the Vindhya and the country to the north of the Vindhya, i.e. to the territories which the Aryans found occupied by Nishāda. The tribe or tribes in question have probably lived as vagrants from the most ancient times. With the growth of Aryan civilisation they would naturally choose as their stronghold localities where Aryan civilisation had not got a firm footing. The many Bhil dialects spoken in the hills from the Vindhya and northwards probably have a similar origin and might well be the tongues of descendants of such migratory tribes who had taken to a settled mode of life. Such questions should, however, for the time being be left to the consideration of ethnologists. It may, in this connexion, be noted that we find Gipsy tribes and also Bhils who, at the present day, still speak Dravidian tongues.

It has been remarked above that the denomination Gipsy does not imply any connexion with the Gipsies or Romany Chals of Europe. These latter have originally come from India, and it is well known how they resemble the Indian Gipsies in appearance and habits. It has also been pointed out that their language shows many points of correspondence with the dialect of Indian Gipsy tribes such as the Doms. In this connexion it is worth while noting the similarity between European Gipsy words such as *gājō*, a gentile, *jukel*, dog, and *Sāsi kajjō*, Nāti *kājō*, man ; Kanjari *jhūkil*, Myānwālē *jukēlā*, *Sāsi chhūkal*, *bhūkal*, Kōlhatī *dhokkal*, dog. The language of the gipsies of Europe, however, points towards the extreme North-West of India, and the prevailing opinion amongst scholars seems to be that they have nothing to do with the Indian tribes whose dialects are here under consideration. The hypothesis might, however, be hazarded that members of the same vagrant race from which the Indian Gipsy tribes are descended came up to the North-West, and remained there long enough to adapt their language to the practice prevailing among frontier tribes. Some of them passed on before this adaptation took place and became the ancestors of the Armenian gipsies, whose language does not point to the north-western frontier but rather to Hindostān. The bulk of these Gipsies later on brought their language, as modified among frontier tribes, to Europe, and became the ancestors of the Romany Chals.

PENĀHĀRĪ.

Under the name of 'Pindarees' the PenĀhāris are well known in Indian history. They were plundering bands of freebooters who first came to notice after the fall of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afghāns, Marāthās, or Jāts. They represented the debris of the Mughul empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhammadan or Hindū powers that sprang up out of its ruins. Their head-quarters were in Malwa, but their depredations were not confined to Central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the PenĀhārī captains, Amīr Khān, had an organised army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Their power was finally broken by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817.

Their name is said to be derived from *pēṇḍhā*, a sheaf, and probably meant originally 'grasscutters.'

At the Census of 1911 the number of PenĀhāris was returned as 6,413, 100 of whom were Hindūs and 6,313 Musalmāns.

They were distributed as follows:—

Central India Agency	4,014
Elsewhere	2,399
TOTAL	6,413

The only district which returned PenĀhārī as a separate language for this Survey was Dharwar of Bombay, which gave a total of 1,250 speakers. Specimens have, however, also been received from Belgaum (Bombay). In other districts PenĀhārī has probably been included under the head of Hindōstānī. It is used only as a home language by the tribe which speaks it. In their intercourse with other people, its speakers employ ordinary Hindōstānī.

To judge from the specimens PenĀhārī is a mixture of rough Dakhinī Hindōstānī with Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī. The particular dialect of the last mentioned language with which their Hindōstānī is mixed, seems to be Jaipuri. Compare *pūtā*, sons; *bāpā*, father; *chhē*, is; *chhā*, was. It is not necessary to discuss this jargon at length. I give two short specimens, one from each district. They both agree in all essential points. Note the use of *uē* as a postposition of the locative, present forms such as *uttarūnu*, I descend; *mārūnu*, I beat, where the final *nu* reminds us of the Dravidian termination of verbs, and the way in which *kar-kē*, having done, is used at the end of a quotation, like the Sanskrit *iti* and the Dravidian *andu*, having said.

[No. I.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENDHARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT DHARWAR.

Kisi ek admī-kū dō pātā ohhē. Us-nē-si nhānā pāt āpnē
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāp-kū bōlā, 'bāp, mērē hissē-kū āwattō māl-kā bāṭā mijē dē.'
father-to said, 'father, my share-to coming property-of share to-me give.'
 Unē āpnā jindgī un-kū bāt-diyā. Thōḍē dīn-kē picchē
By-him own property them-to was-divided. Few days-of after
 nhānā sab milā-kē ek dūr mulak-kū rasta liyā.
by-younger all having-gathered one distant country-to way was-taken.
 Whā unē dhundpanē-sē āpnā māl kharāb-kar-diyā. Sab
There by-him luxuriousness-with own property spoiled-was-made. All
 gamā-lō-kē angē ō mulak-nē ek badā dukāl paḍā. Bhī unō
spent-having then that country-in one big famine fell. And by-him
 garībī-nē rah-gayā. Unē ō mulak-kē ek admī-kē pās
poverty-in it-was-lived. By-him that country-of one man-of near
 jā-kar un-kū mil-kē rah-gayā. Unē isē suwrā
gone-having him-to joined-having it-was-lived. By-him him swine
 charānē-kū āpnē khētān-nē bhēj-diyā. Ō suwrā khānē-kā bhūṣē-si
feeding-for own fields-into it-was-sent. He swine eating-of husks-from
 āpnā pēt. bharnē-kī khuṣī chhī, tab ō-bī usē kōyī
own belly filling-of happiness was, then that-even to-him by-anyone
 diyē nāī. Unē huṣār hō-kē, 'mērē bāp-kē kettā
was-given not. By-him sensible become-having, 'my father-of how-many
 majūrdāran-kū āpnē-kū bas hō-kē jāsti rahē otī
servants-to themselves-for sufficient become-having more remained so-much
 rōṭyā rahwē-chhē. Huwā-tō-bī mai bhūk-sē marī. Mai
bread remained. Still I hunger-from die. I
 nikāl-kē bāp-kē taraf jā-kē usē kahūgā, "arē bāp,
gone-out-having father-of direction gone-having to-him will-say, "O father,
 mai tērē sāmnē bhī Allā-kē uppar gunhā karā. Is-kē angē
by-me of-thee before and God-of against sin was-done. This-of after
 tērā pūt kawā-lēnē-kū mai lāyakhī nai. Tērē majūri-kē jāwānān-nē ek
thy son being-called-for I worthy not. Thy hire-of servants-in one

kar-kē mijē bī rakh," kar-kē bōlū," kar-kē bōl-iyā.
made-having me also keep," said-having may-say,' said-having it-was-said.

Uth-kē āpnē bāp-kanē āyā. Chhētō unē abī rastā lhai
Arisen-having own father-near came. But for-him still way much

dūr chhū-tō us-kā bāp usē dēkh-kē mehar lakā-kē
far was-then his father him seen-having mercy applied-having

nhāt-kē jā-kē galē mil-kē usē mukkā diyā.
run-having gone-having neck embraced-having to-him kiss was-given.

Pūt usē, 'bāp Allā-kē uppar bhī tērā ākhā-kē sāmne mai gunhā
Son to-him, 'father God-of against and thy eyes-of before by-me sin

karā. Ab aūgē kadī-bī mai tērā pūt kawā-lyē sarikā nāi.'
was-done. Now after ever-even I thy son calling-for fit not,'

kar-kē bōlā. Chhētō-bī bāp-nē āpnē naukār-lōkā-kū, 'lhai chōkōt
said-having said. Yet father-by own servants-to, 'very good

jhagō-kū bhār lakā-kē usē pīrā bhī us-kē hāt-kū aūgūtī
coat out brought-having him dress and his hand-to ring

bhā-kē pāw-kū pāpsā dēo. Bhī haman khā-kē khuśī-sē
put-having feet-on shoes give. And we eaten-having happily

rhāī. Kāy-kayē-tō ē mērā pūt mar-gayā chhā-tō, phīr-kē
should-stay. Why-said-then this my son dead-gone was, again

jīta huwā; gayā-chhā-tō, phīr-kē milā,' kar-kē bōlā. Bhī
alive became; gone-was, again was-found,' said-having it-was-said. And

unan khuśī kar-nē lagē.
they merry to-make began.

[No. 2.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENJHARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Dhūp kāl-nē ak kōlā bahut pyās lag-kē jāngal-nē phir-kē
Heat time-at one fox much thirst felt-being wood-in rambling
 pāṇī dhuṇḍā, lēkin kā-bī naī milā. Pichhē-sī dōngā
water searched, but anywhere not it-was-found. At-last deep
 thaddē-nē thōḍā pāṇī khād-rakē dekh-kē agadī-kā dhyān naī
pit-in a-little water standing seen-having future-of thought not
 kar-kē us-kē bich-nē kudā. Whā kbūh pāṇī
made-having it-of the-midst-in he-jumped. There much water
 pī-kē phir-kē uppar anē-kū wāstē chintā karā.
drunk-having again up coming-for far-the-sake thinking was-made.
 Usē rastā-ch naī chhī, o-sabab whā-ch tapt-kē
To-that way not was, (for-)that-reason there-indeed being-in-a-fox
 khād-rā-kē hai phikīr karā. Ottē-nē-ch ek tagar wō-ch
standing much anxiety was-made. That-much-in one goat that-very
 rāstē-sī pyās lag-kē ā-kē khaddē-nē kōlē-kū dekha. Tab
road-from thirst felt-being coming pit-in fox it-was-seen. Then
 o tagar, 'hō kōlā bā, tū lai sūnā, haman sab pyās
that goat, 'O fox father, thou much clever, we all thirst
 lag-kē maran; kisē naī mālum kar-kē tū ēkla-ch
felt-being die; to-anybody not known made-having thou alone-quite
 ā-kē pāṇī pinū; achchhā, rhan-ālō, māī bī tallē utarānū;
coming water drinkest; well, be-let, I too down descend;
 pāṇī kaī ohhē? kar-kē pūchhā. Usē kōlā, 'dōs, kettā
water how is? saying asked. To-that fox, 'friend, how-much
 mittā kar-kē bōlā? E pāṇī agadī amīr sarkā chhē.
sweet saying may-I-say? This water quite nectar like is.
 Tū āyā, bahut chakōṭ huwā; jaldī ā-kē pāṇī pi. bhī
Thou camest, much good became; quickly coming water drink, and
 kōṇ-tō-bī āy-tō tujē milnē-kē naī, kar-kē bōlā. E
anyone-else comes-if to-thee getting-of not, saying said. This
 phasānē-ki bāt sun-kō wō diwānā tagar tallē kudī-mār-kē
cunning-of word heard-having that silly goat down jumped-having

awal pēt bhar-kē pāpi piyā. Pichhē-si uppar āpē-kū
first belly filled-having water was-drunk. Afterwards up coming-for
 wāstē ō dōnō mīl-kē bahut wakat phikir karā.
in-order those both joined-having much time anxiety was-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In summer, a fox being very thirsty and looking for water on all sides, rambled in the forest, but to no purpose. At last he found a little water in a deep pit and jumped into it not heeding the future consequence. There he drank water to his heart's content and began to meditate as to how he was to get out, but there was no way.

Therefore, there he was, a close prisoner, and fell to thinking. Meanwhile, a goat being thirsty, chanced to come down to the very pit by the same road and seeing a fox in it, said,—‘Oh, sir Fox, you are very clever indeed; we are all dying of thirst, while you drink water here, having come all alone without the knowledge of anybody. Very well, I too will come down; how is the water?’

Upon this the fox said,—‘Oh, friend, it is too sweet to describe. This water tastes just like nectar. You are welcome, come soon and drink it. If anybody else happens to come here, you may not get it.’

At this cunning advice, the silly goat jumped down and drank his fill. Then they both consulted for a long time how to effect their escape.

BHĀMTĪ.

The Bhāmtās are a criminal class who are especially active as railway thieves. It seems probable that their original home was the Telugu-speaking country. At the present day, however, settlements are to be found in several of the districts and native states in and bordering on the Bombay Presidency. At the Census of 1911, 4,270 Bhāmtās were returned from the Central Provinces and Berar and none from elsewhere.

They do not lead a gipsy life but settle in some village from which their gangs start on their thieving expeditions.

They are known under several different names such as *Gaṇṭhachōrs*, *Uchliās*, *Vaḍarts*, and so forth. The home tongue of most of them is *Vaḍarī*, a debased form of Telugu.¹ They also speak Marāṭhī, Hindōstānī, and Kanarese. In speaking Kanarese they drop their 'h's.' The home language of some of the *Gaṇṭhachōrs* of the Bījapur District is Kanarese. Those of Nagpur in the Central Provinces speak a broken mixture of Dakkhinī Hindōstānī and Jaipur Rājasthānī. Only fourteen speakers of this Bhāmtī were reported from the Central Provinces. As the Bhāmtās of elsewhere speak Telugu, I do not further refer to them. It is hardly worth while giving examples of the others. As, however, some good specimens have been received, I give a portion of a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and a folktale received from Nagpur.

The fullest accounts of the Bhāmtās which I have seen are in pp. 464 and ff. of Part I of the *Poona Gazetteer*, in pp. 3 and ff. of *The History of Railway Thieves with Hints on Detection*, by M. Paupa Rao Naidu, Madras, 1900, and in pp. 16 and ff. of the *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, by M. Kennedy, Bombay, 1908.

¹ See above, Vol. IV, pp. 652.

[No. 3.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Koi-ék ādmī-kū dō pōryā chhē. Us-mā-kā nānā pōryā
A-certain man-to two sons were. Them-in-of the-younger son
 bābā-kū kabā-chhu, 'us-mē-kā mē-kō mērā hissā dē.' Phēr us-nē
the-father-to said, 'that-in-of me-to my share give.' Then him-by
 us-kō dautat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē. Phēr thōdē dīn hōyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided. Then a-few days passed-had
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kē dūr dēs gayā-chhē. Aur
the-younger son all estate taken-having far country went. And
 wahā jā-kē bēakkal-sē paisā khōyā-chhē. Phēr sab
there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered. And all
 kharch-nē-kō tād us dēs-mē baḍā kāl paḍā-chhē. Ibē
spending-of after that country-in great famine fell. Thereby
 us-kō bipat paḍi-chhē. Ibē o kāi us dēs-kō bhalē ādmī-kō
him-to want befell. Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
 jāurē rahā-chhē. Us-nē us-kō apnā kbāt-mē ḍukar charānē-kō
near remained. Him-by him-to his-own field-in swine feeding-for
 lagāyā-chhē. Ibē ḍukar-kā bhusā khā-kē pēt bharan-kō
it-was-employed. Then the-swine-of huaks eaten-having belly filling-of
 bichār kiya-chhē. Kōi-nē us-kō kai-nā diyā-chhē.
thought made-was. Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was.

[No. 4.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Ek Birbal-kā betā chhā, ek rājā-kā betā chhā. Un-kī baḍī
One Birbal-of son was, one king-of son was. Them-of great
 dōstī rahē. Dōī-kā dil ek chhā. Un-nē kahā kē,
friendship existed. Both-of mind one was. Them-by it-was-said that,
 'jis-kā bihāw pahilē hōgā un-nē apnī bāyko dusrē-kō ghar
'whose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
 pathāw-nā.' Bādśāhā-kē betē-kā bihāw pahilē huā. Us-kī
is-to-be-sent.' The-king-of son-of marriage first became. His
 barāt baḍē dhūm-sū āi-chhē. Phir us-kū ek bistar-par
marriage-procession great pomp-with came. Then him-to one bed-upon
 hō-kē dōst-kī yād āi-chhē. Phēr ō apnē mēhārū-kū
become-having friend-of recollection came. Then he his-own wife-to
 kahī-chhē kē, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kē yahā jā-kē āw; mērā
said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come; my
 kaul-bachan huā-chhē.' O phēr Birbal-kē yahā hāt-mō pachārtī
promise become-is.' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps
 lē-kē gāi-chhē. Us-kū rastē-mā chār chōr milē-chhē. Us-kā
taken-having went. Her-to street-in four thieves met. Her
 sab ḍāginā utārē-rahē. Un-nē kahī kē, 'tū mērā
all ornaments taking-off-they-were. Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my
 ḍāginā kā utārē-chhē? Mō-kō Birbal-kē hā-sō ā-jān-dē;
ornaments why art-taking-off? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come;
 phir mērā sab ḍāginā utār-lē.' Chōr-nē kaliyā, 'yā lū
then my all ornaments take-off.' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too
 bēs kaī-chhē.' Yēk chōr wafā baithā. Tin chōr gayō chōrī
well said.' One thief there sat. Three thieves went theft
 karan-kū. Phir yā gāi Birbal-kē yahā. Birbal-nō us-kō
committing-for. Then she went Birbal's here. Birbal-by her-as-to
 dōkhi-chhē. Palāṅg-par baithāi-chhē. Baithē-kē apnē dil-mē
she-was-seen. A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit. Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
 sōch karā kē, 'badśāhā sāhnē-hī uttēhī chhē aur gawār-hī
consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also

uttēhi chhē, kē apai sēj-ki bāykō mērō yahā pathāi-chhē.
that-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is.

Us-kō kahā, 'itnē din ō mērā bhāi rahā, ibbē tū
Her-to it-was-said, 'so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou
 bhān hui-chhē. Wō mērā bahinōi huwā. Wajir-nē
sister become-art. He my brother-in-law became. The-minister-by

us-kō lugdā āngi pahērā-chhē, aur achchhē bhāri pāch dāginē
her-to a-veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments

diyē-chhē, kahā, 'bāi, tū jā.' Bāi rastā-sū chālī.
were-given, it-was-said, 'lady, thou go. The-lady the-street-by went.

Ek chōr rastā-mā bathā rahē. Us-kō bāi-nē kahī, 'mērō
One thief on-the-road seated was. Him-to the-lady-by it-was-said, 'my

sab dāginē utār-lē. Mē-kō pāch dāginē jāstī milē-chhē.
all ornaments take-off. Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.

Uttī bāt-chūt hō-rahi-chhē tō tin chōr āyē-chhē. Un-kō
That-much conversation going-on-was then the-three thieves came. Them-to

aisī chōrī mili-chhē kō sāt pidhī khāyē tō
such a-theft was-obtained that seven generations if-they-eat then

sarē-nā. Chōr-nē kahā kē, 'terā pāyraw
it-would-be-exhausted-not. The-thieves-by it-was-said that, 'thy footfall

bēs lāgā. Ham-kā chōrī khub mili-chhē Tō ham-sū
good has-been-proved. Us-to theft great obtained-was. Therefore us-from

pāch dāginē lē-lē.' Chōr-nē pāch dāginē diyē-chhē. Phir
five ornaments take. The-thieves-by five ornaments given-were. Then

bādśāh-kē jōrē ai-chhē. Bādśāh-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, 'dil
the-king-of near she-came. The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, 'the-heart

chār-mā kis-kā badā chhē ?
the-four-among whose great is ?

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a Prime Minister named Birbal, who had a son. The king, his master, also had a son. These two were great friends, and had all their thoughts and wishes in common, so they agreed that whichever of the two was married first should send his wife to the other's house. The king's son was the one that was first married, and the bride came home to the palace with great pomp. When the prince came to bed with her, he remembered his friend, and said to her, 'You must first go to Birbal's house. I must keep my promise.' So she started off for Birbal's house, carrying in her hand the five lustration lamps of her wedding night.

On the way she met four thieves, who straightway began to relieve her of all ornaments. Said she, 'Why are you taking off my ornaments? Let me first go to Birbal's house, and afterwards come back to you. Then you can take them.' The thieves approved of this suggestion, and left one of their number sitting there, while the other three went off to look for more booty.

So she went on to Birbal's house. Birbal,¹ as soon as he saw her, made her to sit upon a bed, and thought in his mind, 'The king is partly wise, and partly a fool; for he has sent here, to me, the wife of his own son.' Then he said to her, 'For many days your husband has been my brother. Now I look upon you as my sister, and on him as my sister's husband.' Then he gave her a present of a handsome veil and a bodice, and of five valuable jewels, and told her to go home. So she went back by the way she had come, and found the thief sitting where she had left him.

'Now,' said she, 'take off all my ornaments. I have got five more than I had when you saw me last.' While they were talking the three other thieves came up. They had been so successful in their thefts that they had got booty sufficient to feed seven generations without being exhausted. They said, 'Your footsteps have brought us good luck. We have found enormous booty. So we will not take your ornaments. Please accept five more ornaments from us.' So they gave her five ornaments, and she returned to the king, and told him her adventures. The king wondered in his heart which among the four had shown the greatest nobility of character.

¹ The story is confused. It should be Birbal's son who acts as described. The king is also similarly confused with his son.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

Bēldār literally means one who works with the *bēl* or mattock. It is a general term for the aggregate of low Hindū tribes who make their living by earth work. The number of Bēldārs returned at the Census of 1911 was as follows :—

Bengal	9,294
Bihar and Orissa	88,912
Bombay	12,396
Central Provinces and Berar	25,616
United Provinces	39,035
Central India Agency	26,878
Elsewhere	3,787
Total	205,420

The majority of these Bēldārs probably speak the same dialect as their surroundings. According to Sir Herbert Risley the Bēldārs of Bihar and Western Bengal form a separate wandering caste of Dravidian origin. The same is perhaps also the case in some other districts. The word Bēldār is accordingly used in two different senses denoting sometimes a distinct caste, sometimes all low caste earth-workers. It is impossible to decide how many of the Bēldārs enumerated at the last Census in the various provinces belong to either group.

During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Bēldārī was returned from Rajputana, Berar and Bombay. The estimated numbers of speakers were as follows :—

Rajputana, Jaisalmir State	100
Berar—	
Amravati	800
Ellichpur	500
Buldana	585
	1,885
Bombay Presidency—	
Thana	2,500
Satara	350
Satara Agency, State Aundh	15
" " State Phaltan	40
Kolhapur State	50
Southern Maratha Jaghirs	200
	3,155
Total	5,140

The returns of the last Census do not furnish us with materials for checking these figures.

Specimens of the so-called Bēldārī have been received from Ellichpur and Buldana, from the Jaisalmir State, and from the Ramdurg State. Though the dialect differs in the different districts, being more or less influenced by the prevailing

languages, there are some characteristic features which recur everywhere, and it is accordingly possible to speak of a separate dialect. Beldāri is not, however, a fixed form of speech with consistent features. Like Ōḍkī it is a mixture. The prevailing elements are Marāṭhī and Eastern Rājasthānī. To the former language belongs forms such as the plurals *bēṭē*, sons (Ramdurg); *nāḍē*, tanks (Jaisalmir); *daṭa*, to a father (Buldana); *manṣin*, to a man (Ramdurg); *danāt*, in days (Ramdurg); the oblique bases in *ā* of weak nouns such as *dishā-sē*, from a direction (Jaisalmir); *utḥand-panā-sē*, in riotousness (Ellichpur); the genitive termination *chā* in the Jaisalmir and Ramdurg specimens, the common termination *lā* of the past tense, and so forth. Rājasthānī elements are forms of strong bases such as *pōryā*, sons; *chhōṭō*, small (Ellichpur); *ghōrō*, horse (Jaisalmir) (but also *kattā*, dog; compare also *ghōrē*, horses; *ghōriyā*, mares); the dative suffixes *-nā* (Amraoti, Ramdurg, Jaisalmir); *-nā*, *-nā* (Jaisalmir); *-kā* (Buldana) and *-ku* (Ellichpur); compare Mālvi *-nē*, *-kē*, *-kē*; the genitive suffix *-kō*, *-kō*, *-kē* (Ellichpur, Buldana); compare Mēwātī, Jaipurī and Mālvi *-kō*, *-kē*; the ablative suffixes *-sē* and *-sū*; compare Mālvi *-sē*, *-sū*; the past tense in *yō*, *ō*, which is used side by side with forms in *-lā*; forms such as *marū*, I die; *kahū*, I may say (Ellichpur); *marē-hā*, I am dying (Jaisalmir); *kahus*, I shall say (Buldana) and so forth.

It would also be possible to compare some of the *l*-forms of the past with Ōṛiyā, and the common *mōr*, *mōra*, my, mine, seems connected with forms in Eastern languages. It is accordingly likely that there is also an admixture of Eastern vernaculars. The chief components of Beldāri are, however, of the same kind as in Ōḍkī. With that form of speech there are also other points of agreement; thus the pronoun *tadā*, thy; conjunctive participles such as *kartī*, having done, and so forth. Note the curious form *mērē-ku*, me, an idiom frequent in Dakhinī Hindōsthānī, and also finding parallels in Eastern languages, as in the Bihārī *hamarā-kē*, with the same meaning.

It would, however, be waste of time and paper to go further into details. The general character of this mixed form of speech will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable from Ellichpur. It will be seen that the Rājasthānī element is rather strong in the Beldāri of Ellichpur.

[No. 5.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARI.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Ek admī-kē dō pōryā bhayē. Ō-mē-kō chhōtō pōryā hāpē
 One man-of two sons were. Them-in-of younger by-son father-to
 kahyē, 'dādā, jē jingī-kō hisā āyē, ō mōlē dē.
 it-was-said, 'father, which property-of share comes, that me give.'
 Phir ō-na sampat bāt-kē dī. Phir thōdē din-mē chhōtō
 Then him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-in small
 pōryā sab jamā kar-kē dūr dēs-mē gayō, whā ō-nē
 son all together having-made far country-in went, there him-by
 uthandpanā-sē aplō paisā udā dīyō. Ō-nē sab kharchē-par
 riotousness-in own money wasting was-given. Him-by all spent-on
 ōnē mulak-mē bahōt dukāl padō, ō-nē paisā-kī adchan padan
 that country-in much famine fell, him-to money-of went to-fall
 lāgi. Phir ōnē dēs-kē ēk griha-kē jōrē jā-kē
 began. Then that country-of one householder-of near having-gone
 rahyō, ō-nē ōhē āpnē khēt-mē dukar charā-nē bhējō. Tab
 stayed, him-by him own fields-in wine feeding-for was-sent. Then
 dukar jō tarphal khāt hōē, ō-sē āpnā pēt bhar-nō,
 wine which husks eating were, those-from own belly should-be-filled,
 aśi ō-kē man-mē āi; ō-nē kachhu kōhī didā nahī.
 thus his mind-in came; him-to anything by-anyone was-given not.
 Phir ō sud-par ān-kē bōlō, 'mōrē bāp-kī kittē rōjdār-ku
 Then he sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 bharpār rōṭī hai, aur mī bhūk-sē marū. Mē uṭh-kē āpnē
 richly bread is, and I hunger-from die. I having-arisen own
 bāp-kē itē jāū aur ōhē kahū, "ō dādā, mē dēw-kē
 father-of near may-go and to-him may-say, "O father, by-me God-of
 jōrē aur tōrē dēkhat pāp karā. Abhī-sē tōrā pōryā kalnē
 near and thy in-sight sin was-done. Now-from thy son to-say
 lāyak mī nahīyā, Ek mahindār sarikō mērē-ku rakh.'"
 worthy I not-am. One servant like me keep.'"

The next specimen hails from Buldana. It is of the same kind as the preceding.
 It is not a good specimen, and the noting down of the different sounds does not seem
 to be quite accurate. I give the text as I have received it.

[No. 6.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARI.

DISTRICT BULDANA.

Kōn ēk duhī lāwdā hōtā. Dunun-mē-sē lahānā
Some one(-of) two sons were. Both-in-from by-younger-one
 daūs kahlā, 'daū, mōrē hissā-ki jingī mā-kē dē.
father-to it-was-said, 'father, my share-of property me-to give.
 Mhanūn daū-na jingī dunun-kē baī dī. Thōra dīn-mē
Therefore father-by property both-to dividing was-given. Few days-in
 lahānā āplī jingī lē-kan dusrē gāw-pē gēla. Yā-sē
small-one own property having-taken other village-to went. This-from
 gēla āpnā jingī chain-se udāl. Yē rītī-sē paisā
went own property merry-making-in was-wasted. This way-in money
 chain-mē udāē, māng baḍā kāl girā. Kāl girā
merry-making-in were-wasted, afterwards big famine fell. Famine fell
 mhanjē pañchāl girā. Khāē-kē māng jāy-kūn dusrē-kē
then difficulty fell. Eating-for begging having-gone another-of
 gharē raha. Wō-nē dukhar rākhē-kē dhārī. Wō-kē gharē
in-house remained. Him-by wine tending-for was-kept. His in-house
 kōndā dukhar-kā khāēl u-ch āpnē kōndā khāēl deāl tar pēt
husks wine-of ate that-even him-by husks ate gave then belly
 bharēl; wuhī ō-nē dīl nahī. Yē-lartā ākhī ughaḍ gayī,
filled; that-even him-to was-given not. This-for eyes opened went,
 tab āpnē-kē kah lagā, 'āpnā daū-kē jōḍ naukar paisā
then himself-to to-say began, 'own father-of near servants money
 ur-kan purī, mī yāsā upāsī marna. Ab jā-kan
being-to-spare was-filled, I this-like by-hunger die. Now having-gone
 daū-kē kahus, "daū, dōw-kā tōra aprādh fār mē-nē karē.
father-to will-say, "father, God-of of-thee sin much me-by was-done.
 Mī tōra lāwdā hōy-kan lēā-kā dayā nihē. Tē āpnā majur
I thy son having-become taking-of mercy not. Thou own servant
 sārkhā bagā." Asē vichār kar-kan āpnē daū-kē attē
like consider." So consideration made-having own father-of near
 āla. Wō ātā-ch dūr-sē daū-nē dekhe; wō-kē dayā āil,
came. He coming far-from father-by was-seen; him-to mercy came,
 āpnē lāwdā-kē garē-mē hāt dālī, wō-nē mukā lēi.
own son-of neck-on hands were-thrown, him-by kisses were-taken.

Lāwdā dāū-kē kahyālā, 'dāū, mē-nē dēw-kā tōra baḍā aprādh
 Son father-to said, 'father, me-by God-of of-thee great sin
 karē. Ab tōra lāwdā āē-kē mōra dayā nahī.' Dāū-nē
 was-made. Now thy son come-to my mercy not.' Father-by
 uttam pōshāk lāwdā-kē āng-pē, hāth-mē āngthī, pāw-mē panhī dāri.
 best robe son-of body-on, hand-on ring, foot-on shoes were-put.
 Āpnē chūkar-sē kahī, āndī kahyālā, 'āj āpan
 Own servants-to having-said, also said, 'to-day we
 khāē-piū-kē chain karē; kōran āj mōra lāwdā
 having-eaten-and-drunk merriment may-make; because to-day my son
 marēl, asē samjat rahēl, wō āj parat āla; ib wō āj
 died, thus, thinking I-was, he to-day back came; and he to-day
 gēla, tē sāpadla.' Mhanūn sab ānand karē lagē.
 went, he was-found.' Then all joy to-make began.

Specimens have also been received from the Jaisalmir State, and two of them will be printed below. The first is a song sung by Beldārs in the rainy season; the second a hymn which they recite in the early mornings and especially at the Hōli festival. The Beldāri of Jaisalmir is of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. Forms such as *mānsā-chē*, of a man; *dēsā-chē*, of a country; *Rāmā-chē*, of God; *kuttā*, a dog, occur in other Jaisalmir specimens. The general nature of the Beldāri of the State is, however, well illustrated by the two short specimens which follow.

[No. 7.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARĪ.

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN I.

Kalōri kalhyān umatti, ālā mhi, bharlī nādē nādiyē bharlī
Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled
 Bhīm talāw.
Bhīm tank.

Sātā sēliā-chē jhūlrē gālī pānī talāw : sāt sahiā pūthi
Seven female-friends-of in-company went water tank : seven friends back
 bharti gēli, hēkalrī rōli talāw.
having-filled went, alone remained (at-)the-tank.

Pachchham dīshā-sū ōthi ālā.
Western direction-from camel-rider came.

‘Bījō sahiā rō kājāl tihhiā, tudē kā bringē
Other to-friends O collyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty
 bēsh ?
dress ?

‘Bijā-jē sāhabē gharē basi, mājō basē pardēs.
Others-of husbands in-house dwell, mine dwell abroad.

‘Gharā patak-dē talā-mā, ā māchi lārō.
Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with.

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jābān, māē nūkhā sēmpī lūp.
I-may-burn thy tongue, in-it I-may-put Sambhar salt.

‘Hak ōthi manā kahē, mārī sāsū-jī ō-lō, “ā-jā māchi
One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, “come of-me

lār.” ‘Kō sarikā phūtrā, kē-chē upiār ?
with.” ‘What like beautiful, whose features ?

‘Māchē dēwar sarikā phūtrā, māchi pandal-chē upiār.
My brother-in-law like beautiful, my husband's-sister-of features.

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jīlī, tudā parṇō-rā bhartār.
I-may-burn thy tongue, thy married husband.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Dark clouds have been overhanging, and the rain has come. Tanks and reservoirs and also the Bhūm tank are filled.

A woman went with seven friends to fetch water from the tank. The seven friends returned home after having filled their pots, and she remained alone at the tank.

Meanwhile a man riding on a camel arrived from the west and said to her:—

'The other girls have put collyrium in their eyes and ornaments on their foreheads. Why is your dress dirty?'

(She replied—)

'The other ones have got their husbands at home, but mine is abroad.'

(Then he said—)

'Throw the water pot into the tank, and come along with me.'

(She replied—)

'I shall burn your tongue and put Sambhar salt on it.'

(She then returned home and said to her mother-in-law—)

'A camel *sōwār* said to me, O mother-in-law, "come along with me."'

(The mother-in-law asked—)

'How did he look and what were his features like?'

(She replied—)

'He had the beauty of my brother-in-law and the features of my husband's sister.'

(On this the mother-in-law rebuked her and said—)

'I shall burn your tongue, he was thy own husband.'

[No. 8.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN II.

Har	uṭh	milti-kē	Bharat	hhāu,	Har	ālā		
<i>Hari</i>	<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>having-embraced</i>	<i>Bharata</i>	<i>brother,</i>	<i>Hari</i>	<i>came</i>		
uṭh	milti-kē.							
<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>having-embraced.</i>							
Bāh	pasārti	millē	dun	hhāu,	nēnā-mā	nir	ralakti	
<i>Arms</i>	<i>having-extended</i>	<i>embraced</i>	<i>both</i>	<i>brothers,</i>	<i>eyes-in</i>	<i>water</i>	<i>rolling</i>	
ālā.								
<i>came.</i>								
'Kē	nī	rē	hhāu	ban-khaṇḍa-chyā	bātā,	kēṛi	kēṛi	bīpat
<i>'Says</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>brother</i>	<i>woods-of</i>	<i>tales,</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>mis hap</i>
bhugattī	ālā.'							
<i>having-suffered</i>	<i>comes!'</i>							
'Ban	phal	khāelā	pān	bichhāelā,	ēṛi	ēṛi	bīpat	
<i>'Forest</i>	<i>fruits</i>	<i>were-eaten</i>	<i>leaves</i>	<i>were-spread,</i>	<i>such</i>	<i>such</i>	<i>mis hap</i>	
bhugattī	ālā.'							
<i>having-suffered</i>	<i>came.'</i>							

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Having arisen, Rāma came, embracing his brother Bharata. Rāma came, having arisen, and embraced him.

Having extended their arms both brothers embraced, and their eyes filled with tears.

(Bharata asked): 'Will you not relate, O brother, the tales of the forest; what kind of troubles you had to undergo?'

(Rāma said): 'The fruits of the forest I ate, and the leaves of the forest I used as bed. Such troubles have I endured.'

The Beldāri of the Ramdurg State seems to be of a similar kind, though the Marāṭhi element is somewhat stronger. It will be sufficient to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration.

[No. 9.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARI.

STATE RAMBURG.

Ekē bā-nē dōn bēṭe hilall. Vē-chī nēnkē bēṭe-nē bā-nē
One father-to two sons were. Them-of younger son-by father-to
 kēlē, 'jīngānī-ma mana bāṭnī da.' Dō-janī bēṭeyān bāṭnī
it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give.' Two-persons sons-to shares
 kartī dīlī. Kai-ēk danāt nēnkā-nē saglī jindgī hīlīlī
making were-given. Some days-in younger-one-by all property was
 gītī lambē mulkān gēlā. Uḍa jāṭī manān wāṭal jō-pār
having-taken for country-to went. There going mind-to appeared as-far
 dāin kēlī. Uḍa jāṭī kāl padlā. Vēn kharchan nahī,
wasting was-done. There going famine fell. Him-to to-spend was-not,
 mōṭ chintam padlā. Vē mulkā-mē ēkē māṇsān jāṭī vē māṇsāē
great anxiety fell. That country-in one man-to going that man-by
 yēn malkī gītī vē māṇsā-nē ḍakrē rākhnē-nā mēllā. Vē
him appointing taking that man-by swine keeping-for was-sent. That
 baktān vēn ḍakar khānyā-cho jīnnas-jōku dēkhun milal nahī.
time-at him-to swine eaten husks even was-got not.

ÔDKĪ.

The Ôds are a wandering tribe who are found all over India. In Kathiawar they are pond diggers; in the Panjab they take small contracts on roads, canals, railways, and the like, and also build houses and dig tanks or wells. In Mathura they weave coarse cloth. In the South they cut out stones from the earth, convey them on their carts to where they are wanted, dig tanks and wells and so on. The number of Ôds returned at the Census of 1911 was 610,162 distributed as follows:—

Madras	550,100
Panjab	32,246
United Provinces	9,071
Rajputana Agency	7,830
Elsewhere	10,897
TOTAL	610,162

The root meaning of the word *ôd* is uncertain. In the South it takes the form *odda*, and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu *odde*, drudgery, *oddecāppla*, tank diggers. As most Ôds belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vadaras.

The majority of the Ôds, or about 600,000, are found in South India and are stated to speak a patois of Telugu. We have not sufficient information about the dialect of the remaining Ôds. As a separate form of speech it has only been returned from Muzaffargarh in the Panjab, and from Cutch, Panch Mahals, Hyderabad and Thar and Parkar in the Bombay Presidency. The estimated number of speakers according to information collected for the purposes of this Survey was:—

Panjab	514
Muzaffargarh	514
Bombay Presidency	2,300
Cutch	250
Panch Mahals	50
Hyderabad	1,500
Thar and Parkar	500
TOTAL	2,514

Specimens of Ôdkî have, however, also been forwarded from the Dhandhuka town in Ahmedabad District (in Bombay), and a list of words hailing from Shikarpur (in the Panjab), which will not be reproduced below, shows that the Ôds of that district speak the same language as their namesakes farther south. If we except the Dravidian South it is therefore probable that Mr. Baines was right in stating¹ that 'the earth-workers called Ôd or Waddar carry a language of their own from Peshawar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated.' The Ôds were probably from the

¹ Census of India, 1891. General Report. London, 1893, p. 137.

beginning Dravidians and spoke a form of Telugu. Later on, we are not able to say when, a comparatively numerous section seems to have spent a considerable time in a locality where the prevailing languages were Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. It is of interest to note that the Ōḍs of Northern India are only found in the west, from the United Provinces to Sind. So far as we know their language everywhere contains a strong Marāṭhī element, and it seems likely that their North Indian home must have been in North-Western Dekhan. According to the returns at the Census of 1901,¹ their distribution in the Bombay Presidency was as follows :—

Ahmedabad	1,206
Broach	715
Kaira	805
Panch Mahals	461
Surat	53
Camboy	200
Cutch	188
Kathiawar	959
Mahikantho	106
Palanpur	491
Rawa Kantha	385
Karachi	201
Hyderabad	1,540
Shikarpur	1,335
Thar and Parkar	1,449
Upper Sind Frontier	127
Khairpur	278
Total	10,571

It will be seen that the Ōḍs were practically restricted to districts where Gujarātī and Sindhī are the prevailing languages. The existence of a strong Marāṭhī element in Ōḍkī can only be explained under the supposition that these Ōḍs have come from some place farther east, say in the hills bordering the Marāṭhī area. Such a localisation would also agree with the fact that the Ōḍs of Southern India speak Telugu.

The specimens of Ōḍkī printed below, and the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 178ff. will give a good idea of the nature of the dialect. It will be seen that it is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of the Gipsy language of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so conspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features. The Marāṭhī element is particularly strong. Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ē̃* as in Marāṭhī; compare *talē*, tank; *kēlē*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*; thus, *ghōrā*, horse; *ghōrē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in *ā* of weak and *ē* of strong masculine bases, and in *i* of feminine bases; thus, *dēsā-mā*, in a country; *lerkē-chē*, of a man; *matkati-chā*, of the property. The termination *chā*, *chī*, *chē* of the genitive is important. The same is the case with the termination *lā* of the past tense of verbs; thus, *gēlā*, went; *mārēlā*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*; thus, *āwā*, come; the infinitives in *ē̃* and *ē̄*; thus, *kēhē̃*, to say; *mārē̄*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens,

¹ No similar return is available for 1911.

and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marāṭhī is not a home tongue of the population.

Several of the usual terminations in Ōḍkī do not agree with Marāṭhī but with Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *nē* of the dative, both of which are also found in Mālvi; the ablative in *tī*; the locative in *mā*; forms such as *hē*, I (compare Gujarātī, Mālvi and Mārwarī *hē*); *chhē*, *sē* and *hē*, is; the conjunctive participle is *inē* (Gujarātī *inē*) and so forth. The Gujarātī element is strongest in Gujarātī districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

Features borrowed from languages other than Marāṭhī and Gujarātī have more of a local character. The locative termination *māy*, which is prevalent in Mārwarī is, however, common in the Ahmedabad District, where Gujarātī is the chief language. Of such local borrowings I may mention the common cerebralisation of a *y* in Cutch and in the districts of Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar, Shikarpur and Muzaffargarh; the Pañjābī dative termination *nē* in the same districts with the exception of Cutch, and other sporadic instances of borrowings from the local dialects. They will be easily ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable from the Panch Mahals. It represents a dialect which can be characterized as Gujarātī with a Marāṭhī substructure.

[No. 10.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS.

Ēk guchi-nē dōn chhōyde salē. Nē dhāyde chhōyde bāp-nē
One man-to two sons were. And the-younger-by son-by father-to
 kēlē kē, 'bāpē, puñjiyā bhāg amō-nē dē.' Nē ōnē
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And by-him
 puñji wahēchti dēli. Nē thōdēk dan pachhi dhāyde
property having-divided was-given. And few days after the-younger
 chhōyde bādhe gētinē dūr dēhā-mā gēlā nē padē
son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there
 raṅg-bhōg kartinē pōtāchi puñji uḍāḍti dēli.
pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given.
 Nē ōnē bādhe kharachti nākhlē tyār-pachhi ō dēhā-mē
And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in
 mōtē dukāl padlā nē ōnē bāḍi taṅksāl padwā lāgli. Nē ō
great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began. And he
 jātine ō dēhā-chē wartanī-mā-chē ēkā-chē padē rēhlā.
having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained.
 Nē ōnē pōtā-chē khētrā-mē bhunḍonē chārle-sāru ōnē mōkallā. Nē
And by-him his-own fields-in swine grazing-for him was-sent. And
 jō sōgā bhunḍā khātigē ō-mā-thi pōtā-chē pēt bharlē-sāru ōnī
which husks swine were-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his
 ichēhā sālī. Nē kēnī ōnē dēlē nahī. Nē ō sāwchit
wish was. And by-anyone him-to was-given not. And he in-sense
 halā tyārē ōnē kēlē kē, 'māchē bā-chē katnē majurō-nē
became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 pushkal bādā chhē; paṇ hē-tō bhakhē marē-chhē; hē-tō uṭhtinē
plenty bread is; but I-indeed hunger-by dying-am; I having-arisen
 māchē bā-chē padē jāi, nē ōnē kahī kē, "hē bā,
my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, "O father,
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhi āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your
 chhōyde kēlē lāg hē nī-thā; mā-nē tum-chē majurō-mā-chē ēkā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am; me your servants-in-of one-of
 jāsa gaṇ." Nē ō uṭhtinē pōtā-chē bā-chē padē gēlā. Nē ō
like count." And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went. And he

tō ghaṇē dūr salā tyārē ō-chē bā-ē onē dēkhā nē ō-nē
yet very far was then his father-by him-to was-seen and him-to
 diyā āli. Nē ō dōṭṭinē ō-chī kōṭī walagti padlā, nē
compassion came. And he having-run his on-neck clinging fell, and
 ō-nē baḥī karli. Nē chhōyḍē-nē ō-nē kēlē kē, 'bā,
him-to kiss was-done. And the-son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'father,
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhī āga| pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your
 chhōyḍā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā.' Paṇ bā-ē pōṭā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am.' But the-father-by his-own
 dāsā-nē kēlē kē, 'awa| ṣyṇā gōṭī āwā nē
servants-to it-was-said that, 'good clothes having-taken come and
 ō-nē andhāwā, nē ō-chē hāthē vīṭī ghālā, nē pagā-mē
him-to put-on, and his on-hand o-ring put, and feet-on
 jōḍē andhāwā. Nē āpu khātīnē anand karjē;
shoes put. And we having-eaten merriment may-make;
 kāy-kē, ā mā-chā chhōyḍā martī gālā, nē sō phartī jīvā
because, this my son having-died went, and he again alive
 halā chhē; nē gamātī gēlālā, nē ō jadlā chhē.' Nē ō
become is; and lost had-gone, and he found is.' And they
 anand karu lāglē.
merriment to-do began.

Anē ō-chā mōṭach chhōyḍā khētrā-mē salā. Nē ō wājṭā
And his elder son fields-in was. And he returning
 gharā-chī pāhē pahōchlā tyārē ō-nē nāch nē rāṅg hāmbharlā.
house-of near reached then him-by dancing and music was-heard.
 Nē ō-nē chhākṛā-mē-thī ēkī-nē balāwatīnē puchhlē kē, 'kāy
And him-by servants-in-from one-to having-called it-was-asked that, 'what
 hōya chhē?' Nē ō-nē chhākṛā-nē kēlē kē, 'tadhā
becoming is?' And him-to the-servant-by it-was-said that, 'thy
 bhāu ālā chhē. Nē tadhē bā-ē ēk baḍī jāfat karli chhē,
brother come is. And thy father-by one grand feast made is,
 kāy-kē ō onē khēm-kuśal-thī puthā mallā chhē.' Paṇ ō-nē
because he him-to in-good-condition back joined is.' But him-to
 rīs chadlī nē māhi ālē-chī ō-chī khuśī nā salī. Mātē
anger rose and inside going-of his willingness not was. Therefore
 ō-chē bā-ē bahār āwtīnē ō-nē samjāwlā. Paṇ ō-nē
his father-by out having-come him remonstrated-with. But him-by
 jāwāb dētā bāp-nē kēlē kē, 'dēkh atnē waras hē
reply while-giving father-to it-was-said that, 'see so-many years I

tadhī	chākri	karē	chhē,	nē	tadhī	āgnā	mē	kadi
thy	service	doing	am,	and	thy	commandment	by-me	ever
ōjaṅgī		na-thī,	tō-pan	mā-chē	mitrawā-sāthē	khuśi	karīō	
transgressed		not-was,	still	my	friends-with	pleasure	making	
wāstē	tē	ma-nē	hākrē	pan	kadi	dālē	nī-thē.	Paṇ
for	by-thee	me-to	a-kind	even	ever	given	not-was.	But
ā	tadhā	chhōyḍā	ōṇī	tadhī	puṇjī	kasabōṇō-che	hāthī	
this	thy	son	by-him	thy	property	harlots-of	with	
gamātī		nākhī		ōnā	āwtā	tē	ō-chī-sāru	awaḷ
squandering		was-thrown-away		he	coming	by-thee	him-for	good
jiṇfat	karī.		Nē	ōṇī	kēlē	kē,	chhōyḍā,	
a-feast	was-done.		And	by-him	it-was-said	that,	son,	
tū	māchī-sāthē	nity	chhē ;	nē	māchē	saghlē	tadhē	
thou	me-of-with	always	art ;	and	my	all	thine	
chhē.	Āplē-tō	khuś	anē	nālḷē	tathā	harakh		
is.	Our-indeed	pleased	to-become	is-proper	and	merriment		
karnā	nālḷē.	Kāy-kē	ā	tadhā	bhāu	martī		
to-make	is-proper.	Because	this	thy	brother	having-died		
gēlālā,	nē	pharātī	jīwtā	halā	chhē ;	nē	gamātī	
was-gone,	and	again	alive	become	is ;	and	lost	
gēlālā,	nē	ō	jadlā	chhē.				
was-gone,	and	he	found	is.				

The next specimen is a popular tale about Jāsmā who, according to the Rās Mālā,¹ came from Malwa with a number of Ōḍis in order to dig the Sahasraling Lake at Patan for Siddh Rāj. The Rājā fell in love with her, but she declined his offer. When he pursued her, she committed suicide and cursed him. She is still worshipped by the Ōḍis.

The specimen is of the same kind as the preceding one.

¹ Forbes, Rās Mālā, I. 1112.

[No. II.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKI.

DISTRICT AHMEDABAD.

Sadrāo Jēsaṅgē Jāhmā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē
Siddhrāo Jaisiṅgh-by Jāsmā-to so it-was-said that, 'one day-in tank
khantīnē pāṇiyā-thī rāt-ki-rāṭi-māy talē bhar-dē.' Jāhmāē asē kēlē
having-dug water-with one-night-in tank fill-give.' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said
 kē, 'tījē dan bhar dañ.' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwārki pāhān
that, 'on-third day fill will-give.' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgin near
 gēli, hāth jōṭtīnē kargarli kē, 'hāi, hāy atni kastī tū
went, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so-great misery thou
ma-nē khōwād.' Kūwārkiē kēlē kē, 'hī āvī, paṇ
me cause-to-loose.' Virgin-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but
 puṭhē waltīnē dēkhiō nahī.' Kūwārkiē dan ugtā talē
backwards having-turned please-look not.' Virgin-by day opening tank
 bhar dōlē. Pachhē Sadrāo Jāhmā pāhān ālā nē Jāhmā
filling was-given. Afterwards Siddhrāo Jāsmā near came and to-Jāsmā
bhēgā halā. Jāhmāē anū kēlē kē, 'tū tadhā māp-sar
joined became. Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following
puṭhā wal.' Sadrāwō asē kēlē kē, 'hī tadhā kēdā mēlnār
back turn.' Siddhrāo-by thus it-was-said that, 'I thy way leaver
 nītā.' Tārē bāiē dhartī mātā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'hē
not-am.' Then the-woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O
mā, hī satī hōy, tō tū bhēgi mā jā.' Dhartī bhēgi
mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go.' Earth together
 hall. Tō Sadrāo rād khēchū māḍlā. Pachhē Sadrāo hōllā
became. Then Siddhrāo cry to-raise began. Afterwards Siddhrāo said
 kē, 'tū māchhi bāṇ chhē.' Jāhmā hōlli kē, 'tadhā gonā māf
that, 'thou my sister is.' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgive
 chhē; paṇ tadhā wāsvēlā nai rē.' Pachhē Jāhmā
is; but thy offspring not remains.' Afterwards Jāsmā
 Khalikhōlwādē āwtīnē badhē oḍā-nē mallī. Pachhē o
to-Khalikhōlwādē having-come all Oḍā-to was-joined. Afterwards that
 hāi huraj-nē hāth jōṭtīnē asē hōlli kē, 'mē tō māchē
woman son-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine
 narvōdlē, paṇ māchī tachli āgālā jētnē rūp kōi oḍā-chī dhūvē-nē
is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any Oḍ-of girl-to
 nā diō.
 not give.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Siddhrāj Jaisingh said to Jāsmā, 'dig a tank in one day and fill it with water during the night.' She said that she would be able to do so on the third day. Then Jāsmā went to the Virgin River¹ and besought her with folded hands to free her from this great distress. The Virgin said, 'I shall come, but you must not look behind.' At daybreak the Virgin filled the tank. Then Siddhrāo came to Jāsmā and joined her. Jāsmā asked him to turn back, in accordance with his position, but Siddhrāo said that he would not desist from pursuing her. Then the woman said to Mother Earth, 'O mother, if I am a chaste woman, let me be united with you.' Then the Earth came close to her. Siddhrāo raised a cry and said, 'thou art my sister.' Jāsmā said, 'thy sin is forgiven, but thy progeny shall not remain.' Then Jāsmā went to Khalikholwad² and joined the Ōḍṣ. Afterwards she joined her hands and said to the Sun, 'I have done with life, but do not grant to any Ōḍ girl as much beauty as there is on my last finger.'

According to specimens forwarded from the Cutch State the Ōḍṣ there use a form of speech of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. We may only note the frequent cerebralisation of a dental *d*; thus, *dēwā*, give; *dāḍī*, grandmother; *ḍī*, day.

¹ A name of the river Sarasvati, which is so called because its water is lost in the desert and does not join the Ocean.

² A village near Modhara, where Jāsmā's shrine is still worshipped by the Ōḍṣ.

[No. 12.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKI.

CUTCH STATE.

‘Āwā, bēśā, Rām-Rām. Tamē kathē-thi āwā sawā?’

‘Come, sit, Rām-Rām. You where-from come are?’

‘Hē Chaprēti-ti āvē sē.’

‘I Chaprēti-from coming am.’

‘Warsāti-mē tamī ghaṇā hērān halē sawā. Tamā sārū
‘Rain-in you much troubled become are. You for

sigri karū? Thōṛi wār tāphā tō tamō-nē
fire shall-I-make? Little time you-will-warm-yourselfes then you-to

sukh havi. Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’
comfort will-be. You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Māchē i tāṇē kāi khāwō naitē.’

‘Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(-wanted).’

‘Sāw kāi khālē vīgar chālē? Thōṛē ghaṇē jū
‘Entirely anything eaten without can-it-do? Little much what

bhāvē sū khāwā.
may-please that eat.’

‘I-nā tō mā-nē tras lāgli sē. Pānī pīwū
‘This-in indeed me-to thirst joined is. Water to-drink

dēwā.’

give.’

‘Tam-chē lūgrē thōṛik wār tīkē sūkwū mēlē?’
‘Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-dry may-I-put?’

‘Bhalē, mēlā.’

‘Well, put.’

‘Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’

‘You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Mē tamā-nē kēlē sē kē bhūkh nāi lāgli.’

‘By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got.’

‘Thōṛik khichṛi nē bār khātī ghēwā.’

‘Little khichṛi and bread eating take.’

‘Tam-chī marji sē ta bhalē, karāwā.’

‘You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared.’

‘Tam-chē gharē badhē-y rūji-khusī sī?’

‘Your in-house all happy-glad are?’

'badhē-y thīk si, paṇ māchi dādī parimā
'All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday
martī gēli.
dying went.'

'Tē-nē kāi halēlē?'

'Her-to what had-happened?'

'Chār dī tāw ālā.'

'Four days fever came.'

'Tam-chē khētrā-mā mōl kisēk halē sī?'

'Your field-in crops how become are?'

'Ōy warsād jhājhā balā naitā, tē-thi jhājhē halē naitē.'

'This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not.'

'Tā dhagā-chē kitrō nāpē dilē?'

'These bullocks-of how-much money was-given?'

'Ma-nē sāpē chār sō kōriā bēslīā.'

'Me-to with-a-half four hundred kōris were-expended.'

'Tē dhagē tamī vēchā?'

'These bullocks you will-sell?'

'Pārē nāpē dēwā tō vēchīnē.'

'Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell.'

'Tamā-nē hē tin sō kōriā dīē.'

'You-to I three hundred kōris may-give.'

'Tin sō kōriā-mā kāi vēchāy?'

'Three hundred kōris-in what can-they-be-sold?'

'Hē jāpē sē kē dhagē mōtē sī. Sū itri kīmat

'I knowing am that bullocks old are. That so-much price

ghapī sē.'

much is.'

'Tam-chī dhūi-chā vīwā kiē mainē-mē karā?'

'Your daughter-of marriage which mouth-in will-you-do?'

'Māchi dādī-chī warsi warti raigē tē wāsō

'My grandmother's anniversary over will-be that after

karī?'

I-shall-do?'

'Āj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nuṭī rēwā.'

'Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain.'

'Nā, māchē sāji Dhraṅg pōchnē sē.'

'No, mine to-night Dharang coming is.'

'Pachhē-warī kē dī am-chē gharē āwjā.'

'Again some day our to-house come.'

'Khāsē, Rām-Rām, i-mā hē jāl.'
 'Well, Rām-Rām, now I will-go.'
 'Tam-chē gharē badhā-nē Rām-Rām kējā.'
 'Your in-house all-to Rām-Rām say.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

'Come and take a seat. Welcome. Whence are you coming?'
 'I am coming from Chapreri.'
 'You must have been much troubled by the rain. Shall I make a fire for you? If you will warm yourself for a time, you will feel comfortable. What food may I order for you?'
 'I do not now want any food.'
 'It won't do that you should not take any food. Take only as much as you like.'
 'Just now I am thirsty. Give me water to drink.'
 'Shall I put your clothes a little while in the sun to dry?'
 'Yes, if you please.'
 'What food shall I order to be prepared for you?'
 'I have told you that I am not hungry.'
 'Just take a little *kāichri* and bread.'
 'If that be your wish, get it prepared.'
 'Are all well in your house?'
 'All are well, only my grandmother died the day before yesterday.'
 'What was the matter with her?'
 'She had fever for four days.'
 'How are the crops in your field?'
 'There was not much rain this year, and so I have not got much.'
 'What did you pay for these bullocks?'
 'I paid four hundred and fifty *kōris*.'
 'Will you sell these bullocks?'
 'I will if you give a good price.'
 'I will pay three hundred *kōris*.'
 'How can they be sold for three hundred *kōris*?'
 'I think the bullocks are old, and so it is a good price.'
 'In what month are you going to have your daughter married?'
 'I shall do so after the ceremony of the first anniversary of my grandmother's death is over.'
 'Rest in our house to-night.'
 'No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset.'
 'Come to our house some other day.'
 'Very well. Adieu. I am off now.'
 'Give my compliments to all in your house.'

The dialect of the Ōds of Hyderabad and of Thar and Parkar is said to be identical. The same is the case in Shikarpur, and it will be sufficient to print a short specimen, the deposition of a villager in a case of assault, as illustrating the speech of the Ōds of all three districts. It will be seen that the influence of Sindhi, the prevailing language of the districts, is easily recognisable. Compare *rāti-jō*, of the night; *ghōr-karavū*, house-doing, hawking; *mājō*, my, and so on. The Panjābī termination of the dative *nū* has already been mentioned; compare *khuri-nū*, to the heel. An unpublished Standard List of Words and Sentences contains forms of an *h* future, viz. *mārhe*, I shall, thou wilt, he will, beat; plur. 1. *mārhe*, 2. *mārhe*, 3. *mārhe*. Similarly we find *tāphā*, you will warm yourself, in the specimen from the Cutch State printed above. These forms seem to be comparable with the Mārwarī future. In this connexion I may also note the Rājasthānī negative particle *kōnī*, not (lit. *kō-nī*, not at all); compare *kāhi nē-nā kō-dinā-nī*, anybody him-to not gave; *kō-dēlā-nī*, didst not give.

[No. 13.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

DISTRICT HYDERABAD.

Mai sākhe pari kahē. Mājō nā chhē Hashū. Mājō hā-jā
I oath on state. My name is Hashū. My father-of
 nā Thadā. Mai Hindā-dharam chhē, lohānā chhē. Mājā pōrhiā
name. Thadā. I Hindā am, lohānā am. My profession
 ghōr-karānū chhē. Mājī umuri chālīsī baras chhē. Mai Haidrābādi
haoking is. My age forty years is. I Hyderabad
 gāū Haidrābādi taulkā Haidrābādi jillē bihilē. Mājā firyādu
town Hyderabad in-ta'lūqo Hyderabad in-district live. My complaint
 chhē Wasanmalā-par. Sabhānē hekē bajē rāti-jō
is Wasanmal-on. Yesterday one when-struck night-of
 tikānē-mā jūelā. Gharē bātē ūpari dōdi-batū chhilē.
abode(-of-a-faqir)-in went. Home way on curds-seller-shop was.
 Ū-kaddhū dādhu ghēlē. Ūthē jawābudār ālā; ālō siri māji
That-from curds were-taken. There accused came; come on my*
 sūji khuri-nū thudā mārīā. Māi u-nū kahilē. 'kē-nū
right heel-to stumbling was-struck. By-me him-to it-was-said, 'why
 ādhā hūlā-hē? Jakā-māthē mā-nū lugāī nī dhū-pari gali
blind become-art? This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses
 dihilā, thāshā olār-tē larnē-kū ālā. Māi darīā, nasti-patā
were-given, blow having-threatened flight-to came. I feared, far-off
 hūlā. Hōtū Nārū Rījū vichhū nehhi-parlē. Tadhlī jawāhdārā
became. Hōtū Nārū Rījū between came. Then accused-by
 basi-karī; mā-ta mā-nū mārē-hā. Jawābdārā-sū āgē
stop-was-made; otherwise me would-have-struck. Accused-with formerly
 māji dushmanī kōnī.
my enmity not.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I make the following statement upon my oath. My name is Hashû and my father's name is Thadâ. I am a Hindû by religion, and I am a Lohânâ. My profession is hawking. My age is forty years. I am a resident of Hyderabad town, Haidarabad *ta'tûga*, Hyderabad District. My complaint is against Wasanmal. Last night at one o'clock I went to the abode of a faqîr. On my way home I passed a curls-seller's shop, and there I bought some cards. There the accused came and stumbled against my right heel. 'Why,' said I, 'are you blind?' Then he began to pour out abuse against my wife and daughter, and after threatening to beat me he prepared to fight. I became afraid and stood far off. Hôtû, Nârû and Rijhû intervened, and then the accused desisted. Else he would have struck me. I never before had any enmity with accused.

Specimens of Ôdki have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below. It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Ôdki illustrated in the preceding pages. The cerebralisation of *d* in *dô*, two, etc., and forms such as *mahâ-kan*, from me, point in the direction of Sindhi. There are also some Panjâbi reminiscences such as *rapdê-nê*, to the wife; *bâ-dâ*, of a father. On the whole, however, the Ôdki of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujarâtî districts,—a mixture of Marâthî and Gujarâtî-Râjasthâni. The form *huttâ*, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marâthî *hôtâ*.

[No. 14.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH.

Hek bādshāh hutti. O-chē gharē olād kāi na hutti. O
 One King was. His in-house offspring any not was. He
 apūi bādshāhi chhūr-litī o hek rōz mārḡā ūpar miti belā. Fakir
 own kingdom having-left he one day way on going sat. Fakir
 jurti-kō dhūā ghatti belā. Hek rōz jhund fakirā-chā ālā.
 having-turned smoke making sat. One day group fakirs-of come.
 O-nē kehlē, 'tū āthā mārḡā-par kahā belā?' Bādshāh
 That-by it-was-said, 'thou this way-on why sittest?' By-the-King
 kehlē, 'tamī mahā-kan kabī na pūchha.' Fakirē
 it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask.' The-fakirs-by
 kehlē, 'amī pūchhā.' Bādshāh kehlē jo, 'māchē gharē
 it-was-said, 'we ask.' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house
 olād kāi nahī?' Fakirē kehlē, 'dō tapasē chhit.
 offspring any not-is?' The-fakirs-by it-was-said, 'two sweets break.
 Hek ap khā, hek apnē randē-nū khullā. Vi-nū hek pūt paidā
 One self eat, one own wife-to cause-to-eat. Her-to one son borne
 hōwē; mātḥē-par chād hōwē, chichī-par tārā hōwē.
 will-be; forehead-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be.
 Bādshāh-chē gharē pūt jālā. O-chē gharē dō randā hutā;
 King-of in-house son was-borne. His in-house two wives were;
 jissē mōṭī hutti, vi-chē gharē pūt jamū-palā. Jissī dhārī rand
 which elder was, her in-house son birth-got. Which younger wife
 hutti, vi-nē hithārī-nū kehlē, 'ē bār gūṭi dō.
 was, her-by midwife-to it-was-said, 'this child killing give.'
 Bithārī chhāj kōlā-chē bharti-kē vi-chē gōdhū mēhilti gēli. Bār
 Midwife basket coal-of having-filled her-of near having-put went. Child
 chatti-kē rūri-par nāk-tī āli. Bādshāh-nū
 having-carried manure-heap-on having-thrown returned. King-to
 kehlē, 'tadhā randē kōlō jālā.' Kuttī bhilli
 it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coals were-brought-forth.' Bitch standing
 bādshāh-chī hutti; bārā-nū chatti challi apnē bhāwarē-mē
 king-of was; child having-carried went own put-in
 nitti nāklē. Hek dō sāl guzrē. Ū bār rū lāglē.
 going was-thrown. One two years passed. That child to-ory began.

Bādshāhzādi-nū pattā lāglā. 'E bārā-nū marāti nākhā.' Kutti
Queen-to news was-got. 'This child killing throw.' Bitch
 bhilli sunlē. Bār-kū chatti-kē khūni ghōrē-chē āgū āpti
standing heard. Child having-carried bloody horse-of before bringing
 nāklē. O jawān huttā. Bādshāh-nū pattā lāglā. O
was-thrown. He youth became. King-to news was-got. He
 gharē gēti gallā, ghanē khushī karlē, waqā dān-pun
in-house taking was-put, much rejoicing was-made, great alms
 karlē.
were-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a King. He had no offspring in his house. One day he left his kingdom and sat down at the roadside as a *faqir* near a smouldering fire. One day a group of *faqirs* came along and asked him why he was sitting there on the road. The King replied, 'do not ask me any question.' The *faqirs* said they would ask. The King said that he had no offspring in his house. The *faqirs* said, 'take two *tapāsās*. Eat one yourself and get your wife to eat the other. She will bring forth a son, with a moon on his forehead and a star on his little finger.' Subsequently a son was born in the palace. The King had two wives, and the son was born in the eldest wife's house. The second wife told the midwife to kill the child. The midwife brought a basket full of coal and put it near her. She then took the child and put it on a heap of manure. The King was told that his wife had given birth to coal. The King's bitch was standing there. She carried the child off and put it in her own pit. After the lapse of one or two years the younger queen was informed that the child had been heard to cry, and she again ordered it to be killed. The bitch heard this, took the child and entrusted it to a bloody horse. The child grew up and the King learnt about him. He brought him home, made great rejoicings and gave much alms.

LĀDĪ.

The Lāds are a Gipsy tribe, who sell betel-leaf, areca-nuts, tobacco, *bhang*, etc. The number of Lāds returned at the last Census of 1911 was as follows:—

Bombay	11,781
Central Provinces and Berar	5,383
Baroda State	8,500
Hyderabad State	8,776
Elsewhere	1,132
TOTAL	<u>35,572</u>

It does not seem as if the Lāds generally have got a dialect of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Lāḍī was reported to be spoken by 500 individuals in the Ellichpur District of Berar. A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son has been forwarded as an illustration of this form of speech. The beginning of it, which follows, shows that the Lāḍī of Ellichpur is Eastern Rajasthani, in most respects agreeing with Jaipuri.

[No. 15.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

LĀPL

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Kōnī ēk mānus-ka dui pōrgā hōtā. U-kī mandhun lahān pōrgō
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-of midst-from small son
 āplē bāp-kha kahyō, 'bāpā, jindgī-kō jō mārō wātō āwśī, wō
own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that
 dē.' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō kari tākūyō. Mag
give.' Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown. Then
 thōdē diwas-na lahān pōrgō saglō paisō jamā kari dūr dēs-ka
few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to
 gayō; ānī āplē dhatpānā-na rahisan saglō paisō kharāb kari tākūyō.
went; and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted.
 Mag saglō paisō kharch karyā-war unē mulukh-mē kāl padyō. Unō
Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell, That
 mulē u-kha phār adchan pādī. Mag wō unē mulukh-mē ēk mānus-pās
for him-to much difficulty fell. Then he that country-in one man-near
 rahan-kō gayō; un u-kha dukar charāwan-kha wāwar-mē pathāyō. Mag
living-for went; by-him him swine feeding-for field-in was-sent. Then
 dukar jō phōtar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōt bharan-kha u-kha
swine which husks eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to
 wātūyō, mag u-kha kōnī kāhī dīyō nahī. Mag hōs-mē
it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not. Then sense-in
 āyīsan kahyō, 'mārō bāp-kha kitī naukār-kha pōt bharisan
having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled
 rōtī bhēta-ehhē, ānī mī upāsī marū-ehhē.
bread being-got-is, and I hungering dying-am.'

SĀSĪ.

The Sāsīs are one of the best known criminal tribes. They commonly use the word *bhattū* (in the Panjab) or *bhātū* (Saharanpur) to denote themselves. I cannot suggest any etymology of this name, which is also used by other Gipsy tribes such as the Kōlhātīs. The common denomination Sāsī is replaced by the longer form Sāsīyā in the United Provinces. It has been variously derived from Sanskrit *śāsto*, breathing, or from the base *śram*, to fall, to get loose. The former explanation does not give much sense, the latter would perhaps convey the meaning of a fallen, degraded caste, and etymologically *sāsī* might well be derived from an old participle *śramṣita*. Others derive the word from *śvaṅga-śika*, accompanied by a pack of hounds, hunter, or from *śvapāka*, who cooks dogs, out-caste, but these derivations are not possible phonetically. If we consider the fact that the Sāsīs often act as bards, it would also be possible to derive their name from a Sanskrit *śāmsika* = *śāmsin*, reciting.

Sāsīs are most numerous in the Panjab, especially in the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. The total number returned at the last Census of 1911 was 32,481, distributed as follows:—

Panjab	26,990
Delhi Division	3,257
Jullundur Division	1,893
Lahore Division	14,574
Rawalpindi Division	2,000
Multan Division	1,993
Native States	3,683
Other Provinces	5,491
Total	<u>32,481</u>

It is probable that many of these Sāsīs speak the language of their neighbours. Our information about the number of those who speak a separate dialect is very defective. This is partly due to the fact that there are in reality two different things which can be called the Sāsī dialect. In the first place we have a distinct vernacular, specimens of which have only been forwarded from the Panjab. In the second place there is a criminal argot characterised by certain methods of disguising ordinary words so as to make them unintelligible to the uninitiated. Such methods can be applied to words taken from any dialect. Moreover, the returns from the Census of 1911 do not distinguish between the different Gipsy dialects. They seem, however, to show that many Sāsīs have been returned as speaking other dialects. Thus the total number returned for Gipsy languages from the Panjab was only 5,640. The information collected for the purposes of this Survey, on the other hand, must in this case be used with considerable caution. It gives the

number of speakers in Ferozepur as 45,000, but only 360 Sāsīs were enumerated in the district at the Census of 1911. The details of this information are as follows:—

Panjab	48,170
Ferozepur	45,000
Gurdaspur	2,000
Gujrat	1,170
United Provinces	3,380
Saharanpur	3,000
Khari	380
Total	<u>51,550</u>

It will be seen that this total is considerably more than the number of Sāsīs enumerated in the whole of India in 1911.

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The Sāsīs are to a great extent migratory, and their dialect differs according to locality. Thus the Sāsīs of the United Provinces apparently speak Hindōstānī, while the dialect of their cousins in the Northern Panjab is closely related to Pañjābī. A consequence of their migratory habits is also the use of forms and suffixes belonging to different vernaculars by the same Sāsīs. Thus in the dialect spoken in the Northern Panjab we find the genitive formed by adding a suffix *pā*¹ or *kā* as in Hindōstānī, while the suffix of the ablative is *thā*, which reminds us of Gujarātī. Dr. Grahame Bailey has shown that there are numerous cases of correspondence now with one, now with another Aryan dialect in the speech of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. It might be characterised as intermediate between Pañjābī and Hindōstānī. Such correspondence in grammar cannot, however, prove more than that the Sāsīs have associated much with peoples speaking those tongues. It is quite certain that the stronghold of the tribe is the north of the Panjab, between the Sutlej and the Jhelum. Some phonetical features in Sāsī also point in that direction. Thus the old double consonants, which are so

¹ The postposition *pā* refers in rather to the Bagri dialect of Rājasthān than to Hindōstānī. We may also compare *gai*, the postposition of the Dative in the Darbi Māyī. [G. A. G.]

common in the Prakrits, are treated differently in modern vernaculars. They are often retained and a preceding short vowel remains short in Pañjābī, while they are simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in Hindōstānī and most Eastern languages. Compare Prakrit *ekka*, one, Pañjābī *ikk*, but Hindōstānī *ek*; Prakrit *piṭṭhī*, back, Pañjābī *piṭṭh*, but Hindōstānī *piṭh*. The Sāsī of the Panjab here marches with Pañjābī; compare *ekki*, one; *nakk*, nose; *hāth*, hand; *piṭṭh*, back. In the United Provinces we usually find forms with simplified compounds and long vowels. In Saharanpur, however, we find forms such as *mī*, back; *kanḥā*, ear; *kuk*, eye, etc., which seem to show that the state of affairs is not quite the same as in Hindōstānī. The conditions in Sāsī do not therefore prove anything. More importance must be attached to the existence of a cerebral *l* and a cerebral *ṣ* in Sāsī, for the use of those sounds is characteristic of western languages, such as Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Pañjābī. Such cases of correspondence between Pañjābī and Sāsī are exactly what we would expect, considering where the stronghold of the Sāsī is situated. The use of an oblique form ending in *ā* of weak nouns, on the other hand, seems to show that there is in Sāsī an element, a substratum, which does not belong to the Panjab, but rather more to the south, where we approach the Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī areas.

We are comparatively well informed about the Sāsī dialect of the Northern Panjab, which has been dealt with by Dr. Grahame Bailey. The remarks which follow refer to it.

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign [˘]; thus, *bappā-gā*, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added; thus, *akkh*, eye; *kānn*, ear; *bāpp*, father, but *bappā-gā*, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as *āṭā*, coming; *chuyḍāc*, to graze; *chāṭā*, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. A similar lengthening of an *i* or *e* occurs in forms such as *kīyyā*, done; *dīyyā*, given; *hūncā*, become, when the vowel is followed by a double *y* or *w*, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindōstānī refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic 'ain. This rule applies to *h*, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, *ah* and *mh*. Thus, *hūncā*, become, is almost 'ūncā; *ghōrā*, horse, is almost g'ōrā, and so forth.

There are two genders, the masculine which is also used as a neuter, and the feminine. The oblique base of masculine nouns ending in *i*, *ā*, and consonants, and of feminine nouns ends in *ā*, their case of the agent in *ē*. The nominative plural is like the singular in the case of masculine nouns, while feminines end in *ā*. The oblique plural ends in *ē*. Masculine nouns ending in *ā* change their *ā* to *ē* in the oblique case, to *ē* in the case of the agent, to *ē* in the

nominative plural and to *ē* in the oblique plural. The common case suffixes are,— dative *gā*; ablative *thē*; and genitive *gā*, feminine *gi*, plural *giā*. The usual Hindōstāni suffixes dative *kō*, ablative *sē*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, are used instead in the specimens received from Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion of nouns is the same as in Hindōstāni. According to Dr. Bailey the nominative, genitive and the case of the agent of *bāpp*, father; *kūtā*, dog; and *dhīā*, daughter, are as follows:—

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nominative . . .	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhīā</i>	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīā</i>
Genitive . . .	<i>bāppā-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīā-gā</i>	<i>bāppā-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīā-gā</i>
Agent . . .	<i>bāppē</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīē</i>	<i>bāppē-epē</i>	<i>kūtē-epē</i>	<i>dhīē-epē</i>

These are apparently the regular forms in the dialect of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. They are not, however, the only ones. Thus, a list of words received from the Gujrat District contains forms such as *waḍḍiā-dē pās*, to fathers, with the common Panjābi genitive suffix.

Pronouns.

The following are the regular forms of the personal pronouns:—

	I.	We.	Thou.	You.
Nominative . . .	<i>hūā</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>tūā</i>	<i>tam</i>
Agent . . .	<i>maī</i>	<i>hamē</i>	<i>tūē</i>	<i>tamē</i>
Dat.-Accusative . . .	<i>manā</i>	<i>ham-kō</i>	<i>tānā</i>	<i>tam-kō</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>maīthē</i>	<i>ham-thē</i>	<i>tūthē</i>	<i>tam-thē</i>
Genitive . . .	<i>māā</i>	<i>māā-rā</i>	<i>tūā</i>	<i>tamā-rā</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *ēā*, this, oblique base *iy*, case of the agent singular *ia*, plural *iēō*; *uh*, *ōh*, that, oblique base *uā*, case of the agent singular *uā*, plural *uēō*. There is also a pronoun *tiārgā*, the thing or subject under discussion, which is substituted for nouns in order to prevent a stranger from understanding what is meant.

The common verb substantive is *hōnā*, to be. Its present participle is *hōtā*, being, and its conjunctive participle *hōikē*, having been. The present tense is formed as follows:—

Verbs.

Singular	1. <i>hai</i> .	Plural	1. <i>hā</i> .
	2. <i>hai</i> .		2. <i>hō</i> .
	3. <i>hai</i> .		3. <i>hai</i> .

The past tense is singular maso. *thiyyā*, fem. *thiyyi*; plural maso. *thiyyē*, fem. *thiyyiā*; or *siyyā*, fem. *siyyi*; plural maso. *siyyē*, fem. *siyyiā*.

The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs.

Present Time.—The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive; thus, *haũ mārē*, I may beat; *burē*, he may enter; *khālā*, we may eat. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle: thus, *ham mārē hā*, we are beating, we beat. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are *haũ mārē hōtā haĩ*, I am being beaten; *haũ mārē kartā haĩ*, I am doing beating; *haũ mārē rikā haĩ*, I having beaten have remained.

Past Time.—The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive; thus, *haũ gayā*, I went; *tam gayā*, you went. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent; thus, *hamō mārē*, by us beaten, we beat. Similarly also *maĩ mārē thiyā* (or *siyyā*), by me beaten was, I had beaten. Other forms of the past such as *haũ mārē thiyā*, I was beating, are of course constructed actively.

Future.—The suffix of the future is *grā*, preceded by an *ā* in the first and second persons singular and the first and third persons plural. The regular future forms of *mārā*, to beat, are:—

Singular	1. <i>māraṅgrā</i>	Plural	1. <i>māraṅgrē</i>
	2. <i>māraṅgrā</i>		2. <i>māraṅgrē</i>
	3. <i>māraṅgrā</i>		3. <i>māraṅgrē</i>

and *māraṅg*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Maṇḍeālī, Sakēti and Bilaspūri. Compare Maṇḍeālī *māraṅg* or *mārghā*, I shall beat; Bilaspūri *māraṅgrā*, I shall beat.

Imperative.—The imperative is formed as in Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *mār*, beat; *mārō*, beat ye.

Infinitive and Participles.—The suffix of the infinitive is *ā*; thus, *mārā*, to beat. Compare Pañjābī *ā*, *nā*, Hindōstānī *nā*, Sindhi *ā*. The present participle ends in *tā* as in Hindōstānī; thus, *mārē*, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī; thus, *mārē*, beaten; *khiā*, said; though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gayā*, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in *ī*, *ī-kē*; thus, *jāī*, having gone; *mārī-kē*, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the *k* is often softened to *g*; thus, *āī-gē*, having come; *dēhī-gē*, having seen.

Passive Voice.—Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *haũ mārē jattā haĩ*, I am beaten; *haũ mārē jattā thiyā* (*siyyā*), I was beaten; *haũ mārē jāṅgrā*, I shall be beaten.

The two specimens which follow illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsī in Northern Panjab. I owe them to the kindness of Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSL.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Ēkki bandē-gē dō pūt thīyyā. Un bichchā nikē.
One man-of two sons were. Them among by-the-little
 bappā-gā kahiā, 'bāpp, mālkīyā-gā jīhrā hissa mā-nū
father-to it-was-said, 'father, property-of whatever part me-to
 ātā hai, mā-nū dē. Un apnā sārā māl un-kō baṭi
coming is, me-to give. By-him own all property them-to dividing
 dīyyā. Thōrē dinē-gē picchhō nikē mūndē sārā kujjh
was-given. Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever
 katthā kīyyā tē dūrā-gē dēsā bichch jāi rihā. Oṭhā
together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed. There
 sārā māl bhaiṛē kammē bichch urāi dinā. Jad
all property evil works in causing-to-fly was-given. When
 sārā kharch kari linā, us mulkhā bichch harā kāl pariā,
all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,
 tē oh snurā parnē laggā. Tad us mulkhā-gē ēkki ādmīā-gē
and he narrow to-fall began. Then that country-of one man-of
 pās jāi apriā. Un apnē pailē bichch sūr chugānē ghallīā,
near going arrived. By-him own fields in pigs to-graze was-sent,
 tē oh chhillū jīhrā sūr khattē thīyyē apnā pēt bharnē-gā chātā
and he husks which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing
 thīyyā, par kōi nahī dētā thīyyā. Tad hōshā bichch āigē
was, but anyone not giving was. Then sense in having-come
 kahṇē laggā, 'mērē bappā pās kinnē majūrē-gā bahut tūk
to-say began, 'my father near how-many hired-labourers-to much food
 hai, tē haū bhūkhā marīā hai. Haū ūthigē apnē bappā pās
is, and I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own father near
 jāngrā tē us-kō kahṇgrā, "hē bāpp, māī shamānā-gā tē tērā gunāh
will-go and him-to will-say, "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kīyyā, iw is jōgā nahī ki bhī tērā pūt akhwāwē,
was-done, now this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,

ma-nū apṇē majurē bichchā ēkkī jidā bagā." Tad nthigē
me-to own hired-labourers among one like make." Then having-arisen
 apṇē bappā pās tūriā; tē oh ajō dūr hī thūyā ki us-kō
own father near went; and he yet far indeed was that him
 dēkhigē us-kā bappā-gū tars āyā, tē daurigē gal lāyā tē
having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-run neck pressed and
 barā chumīā. Pūtē us-kō kahīā ki, 'hē bāpp, māī
much kissed. By-son him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, by-me
 shamānā-gā tē tērā gonāh. kīyyā tē iw haū is jōgā nahī ki
heaven-of and thy sin was-done and now I this worthy not that
 bhī tērā pūt akhwāwē. Bappē apṇē nankarē-gū kahīā ki,
again thy son may-be-called.' By-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'chāngiā thō chāngī pushāk kadhā lē-āō tē is-kō lāō, tē
'fine than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and
 is-kō haththā bichch chhāp tē pairē bichch juttī, tē palē hūwā
him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and reared been
 wachchhē-gū lē-āigē halāl karō, ki khāhā tē khushī
calf having-brought killed make, that ice-may-eat and merry
 manāwā; kyū, mērā ēā pūt marī gayā thūyā, iw jīwā
ice-may-make; why, my this son having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawā gayā thūyā, iw labhā paīā. Tad oh khushī karnō
is; lost gone was, now finding fell.' Then they merry to-make
 laggē.
began.

Us-kā barā pūt paīā bichch thūyā; jad gharā-gē nēpē āyā,
Him-of big son field in was; when house-of in-cicinity came,
 gaupō tē nachhē-gā wāj saplā, tē ēkkī nankarā thō pūchhiā ki,
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that,
 'ēā kyā hai?' Un us-kō kahīā ki, 'tērā bhāī āyā, tē
'this what is?' By-him him-to it-was-said that, 'thy brother came, and
 tērē bappē paīā hūwā wachchhā halāl kīyyā hūwā hai, is
by-thy father reared been calf killed made been is, this
 wāstē ki rāzī-bāzī labhā.' Un gussā hōigē
on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found.' By-him angry having-become
 na chāhīā ki andar harā. Tad us-kā bappē bahr
not was-wished that inside may-go. Then him-of by-father outside
 āigē us-kō manāyā. Un bappā-gū jawāb dīnā,
having-come him-to it-was-persuaded. By-him father-to answer was-given,
 'dākh innē warhē-gī haū tērī tahl kartā haī, tē kadhī tērē
'lo so-many years-of I thy service doing am, and ever thy

hukmā-gē barkhilāf nahī turīā, par taī kadhi ékk lālā wī nahī
order-of against not went, but by-thee ever one kid even not
 dīnā ki haū appē yārē sāthth khushī manāē; par jad tērā
was-given that I own friends with merry may-make; but when thy
 ēā pūt āyā jīy tērā māl kanjriē bichch udāyā, taī
this son came by-whom thy property harlots in was-wasted, by-thee
 us-kē liyyē paliā hūwā wachchhā halāl kiyyā.' Up
him-of for-the-sake reared been calf killed was-made.' By-him
 us-kō kahiā, 'hē pūt, taū sadā mērē pās haī; jō-kujjh mērā
him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always my near art; whatever mine
 hai, sōī tērā hai. Par khushī manāgi tē khush hōpā chāhītā
is, that-even thine is. But merry to-make and merry to-be wanted
 thiyyā; kyū, tērā ēā bhāī marī gayā thiyyā, iw jīwīā
was; why, thy this brother having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawāy gayā thiyyā, iw labbhā hai.'
is; lost gone was, now found is.'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Mhārē	dō	pir	lagē	jattē	thiyyē ;	ēkki	gā
Our	two	saints	going-along	going	were ;	one	village
maṅgnē	gaē ;	ēkki	kajjiā	pāsā	dūddh	maṅgiā ;	up
to-beg	went ;	one	female-Jaff	from	milk	was-asked ;	by-her
nahī	dinā ;	uh	turi	gaē,	us-kā	dūddh	lahū
not	was-given ;	they	going	went,	her-of	milk	blood
geā.	Uṇ	kajjiā	dekhīā	kī	dūddh	lahū	hōi
went.	By-that	female-Jaff	was-seen	that	milk	blood	becoming
geā ;	uh	bhī	magar	daurī.	Upō	kihā,	'ja
went ;	she	then	after	ran.	By-them	it-was-said,	'go
bachcha,	tērā	dūddh	usī	tarah	hōi	jāgrā.	Uh
little-one,	thy	milk	that-very	way	becoming	will-go.	She
gharē	āi	tē	dekhīā,	tē	dūddh	usī	tarah
home	came	and	saw,	and	milk	that-very	way
geā	thiyyā.						becoming
gone	was.						
Uṇi	dō	pirē	ēkk	karamāt	kī ;	ēkki	
By-those-very	two	saints	one	miracle	was-done ;	by-one	
arkā	sāthth	dōph	putṭi,	bhī	us-kō	riddigē	khāyā,
elbow	with	iguana	was-dug-up,	then	it	having-cooked	was-eaten,
bhī	up	dōjjē-gō	kahiā	kī,	'maī	putṭi,	taī
then	by-him	other-to	it-was-said	that,	'by-me	was-dug-up,	thou
is-kō	bhī	sarā-jit	kar.	Bhī	up	haddiā	katṭhiā
it	again	alive	make.	Then	by-him	bontā	together
tē	hāthth	phērige	kahnē	laggā,	'jā	bachcha,	daurī
and	hand	having-waved	to-say	began,	'go	little-one,	running
jā ;	bhī	uh	daurī	gāi	tē	sarā-jit	hōi
go ;	then	it	running	went	and	alive	becoming
up	dōē	pirē-gē	nā	Bhalād	Bhagat	tē	Malaṅg
those	two	saints-of	names	Bhalād	Bhagat	and	Malaṅg
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malaṅgā-gā	māmā	thiyyā.			
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malaṅg-of	mother's-brother	was.			

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Two of our saints were going along. They went to a village to beg and asked a female Jatt for milk, but she did not give it. When they went away, her milk was transformed into blood. Seeing that the milk had been changed to blood, the Jatt woman ran after them. They said to her, 'go home, little one, thy milk will be as before.' When she came home and saw it, then the milk had become as it used to be.

Those two saints did a miracle. One of them dug up an iguana with his elbow, cooked it, and ate it. Then he said to the other one, 'I have dug it up, and now thou restore it to life.' Then he put the bones together, waved his hand and said, 'go, little one, run away.' Then it ran away and became alive again. The names of those two saints were Bhalād Bhagat and Malaṅg, and Bhalād Bhagat was Malaṅg's maternal uncle.

The dialect spoken by the Sāsīs of the United Provinces is not so well known. Specimens have been received from Saharanpur and Kheri. They seem to show that the Sāsīs speak the same language as their neighbours. They are much less numerous than in the Panjab, and conditions are not favourable for preserving a strange dialect. It will be sufficient to give a short specimen, received from Kheri, as an illustration of the speech of the Sāsīs, or Sāsīyās, as they are here called, of the United Provinces. It is practically Hindōstānī. It is, of course, likely enough that other Sāsīyās speak a dialect more closely related to that illustrated in the preceding pages.

[No. 18.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSIYĀ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Jānē-mē	katyā	bachyā	pārē	thē.	Das	rupiā
Winter-in	cows	calves	tending	were.	Ten	rupees
chapwārē-nē	māgē	thē.	Ham-par	nikrē	nāhl.	Ham-kō
sub-inspector-by	demanded	were.	Us-on	were-found	not.	Us
pakar-kar	Mīrat	pahōchā	diyē.	Wahā	kaid	
having-seized	Meerut	having-caused-to-reach	were-given.	There	imprisoned	
kar	diyē.	Baṛī	hō	gaē.	Phīr	Sūrtāpur-kō
making	were-given.	Acquitted	becoming	went.	Then	Sultanpur-to
bhēj	diyē.	Sūrtāpur-mē	char	baras	rahē.	Sūrtāpur-mē
sending	were-given.	Sultanpur-in	four	years	remained.	Sultanpur-in
munj	aur	rāmbans	kuṭṭī	thē.	Ham-nē	munsi-sē yeh
munja	and	stoe-fibres	hammering	were.	Us-by	Monshi-to this
kahā	ki,	'ham-kō	ek	arji,	yahā-sē	likh dō
was-said	that,	'us-to	one	petition,	here-from	writing give
ki	ham	yā-sē	aur	jagah	basāē	jāē.' Lārat-nē
that	we	here-from	other	place	settled	may-go.' Lord-by
yeh	hukum	diyā	ki,	'yā-sē	nikar-kē	baṛ-mē
this	order	was-given	that,	'here-from	having-gone-out	forest-in
basāē	jāē.'	Ham	baṛ-mē	āē	aur	baṛ-sē ek
settled	may-go.'	We	forest-in	came	and	forest-from one
mahinē-ki	chhutī	lē-kar	apnē	bēṭē-ko	mīnē-ko	gaē.
month-of	leave	having-taken	own	son-to	meeting-for	went.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In the winter I had been tending cattle. The sub-inspector demanded ten rupees from me, and as I had not got them I was seized and sent to Meerut, where I was put in prison. Afterwards I was released and sent to Sultanpur, where I remained for four years, beating *munja* and *Rām* reeds (for basket work). I said to the Monshi, 'I have a petition. Write that I may be settled in some other place.' The lord gave order that I might go thence and be settled in the jungle. I came to the jungle, and there I took one month's leave and went to see my son.

The specimens printed above illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs, especially that spoken in Northern Panjab. As we have seen it mainly agrees with Panjābī in phonology, while its inflexional forms are intermediate between that language and Hindōstānī ; some of the case suffixes being identical with those used in the latter form of speech. I have already mentioned that this partial agreement with Hindōstānī can very well be a consequence of the migratory life of the Sāsīs. At present most of them live in Government Reservations and in circumstances which are not favourable for the preservation of the purity of their dialect.

Formerly their condition was different. In the words of Abdul Ghafur, 'they are professional thieves and very brave.' In order to be able to converse with each other without being understood by outsiders, they have, like other criminal tribes, in addition to their real dialect, devised a criminal variation, an argot or 'thieves' Latin' which they themselves call *Fārsī*, Persian.

This is not, however, a different dialect, but identical with the common speech in phonology and grammar. Moreover, it is not known to all Sāsīs, young children being unacquainted with it. It is based on the ordinary dialect and consists in changing individual words so as to make them unrecognizable. As in the case of European argots, it contains a number of peculiar words, probably picked up from various sources, most of which cannot so far be satisfactorily explained. Dr. Bailey has published a long list of them. Many of them are well-known Aryan words. Others such as *kūkar*, cock, are onomatopœic. Several are based on some metaphor, as is often the case in European argots. Compare *gōlt*, poison used for putting into the food of cultivators' cattle, *lit.* pill ; *charāwā*, advocate, *lit.* herdsman ; *kūrā*, lower part of leg, *lit.* hoof. Some words are also apparently borrowed from other languages ; thus, *bārmī*, woman, wife, might be compared with Sherpa *permi* ; *nād*, village, with Kanarese *nāḍu*, country, Gōṇḍī *nār*, village ; *lallī*, night, with Arabic *lalla*. The greatest portion of the vocabulary of Criminal Sāsī, however, consists of common words changed or disguised in various ways.

The letters of a word are often transposed. Thus we find *kābrā* instead of *bakrā*, goat ; *khūm* perhaps instead of *mukh*, face ; *chōmī* instead of *mōchī*, shoemaker ; *chhāmī* instead of *māchhī*, a certain water-carrying caste ; *ṭēp* instead of *pēt*, belly ; *ṭiph* instead of *piṭh*, back ; *bakat* instead of *batak*, duck, and so on.

The most common device of disguising words is, however, to add a syllable in front, and this addition often entirely supersedes the beginning of the word. Thus the ordinary Sāsī word for 'ten' is *das*. By adding *kha* in front we get *khadas* and finally *khas*, both of which are used in Criminal Sāsī. Similarly we find *bāl*, *khābāl* and *chhābāl*, hair ; *pair*, *khapair*, *chhapair* and *nhair*, foot, and so forth. The usual additions of this kind which occur in the materials at my disposal are as follows :—

k added before vowels. With a following *a* it becomes *ku*, *kó*, with a following *ā* *kō* ; thus, *kukkhī*, Panjābī *akkhī*, eye ; *kókkh*, Panjābī *akkh*, eye ; *kundar* and *andar*, inside ; *kuggē*, Panjābī *aggē*, in front of ; *kōṭṭā* and *āṭā*, flour ; *kōṣh*=*āṣh*, eight ; *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man ; *kōsuā*=*ānā*, anna.

kh is also sometimes added before vowels ; thus, *khassī*=*assī*, eighty ; *khūpar*=*āpar*, above. More commonly, however, we find the syllable *kha* added before words

beginning with consonants; thus, *khatīn*, three; *khadand*, tooth; *khadās*, ten; *khanak*, nose; *khanau*, nine; *khapair*, foot; *khamaī*, by me; *kharaḥjā*, Peshāwari *rājā*, pleased. The additional syllable *kha* then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word; thus, *khunlā*, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf. Hindostānī *gajintā*; *kūas=das*, ten; *khaū=nau*, nine; *khakk=nakk*, nose; *khigalnā=nikalnā*, to come out; *khīs=biś*, twenty; *khūh=mūh*, mouth; *khikhṇā=likhnā*, to write; *khōth=hāth*, hand.

g is apparently used in a similar way, though I have not found more than one certain instance, viz. *gupāhī=sipāhī*, soldier.

ch only occurs as a substitute for *b*; thus, *chatānā=batānā*, to show; *chōlī=bōlī*, speech. It is, however, possible that it can be used instead of other labials. Thus, *chāī*, water, may be for *pānī*; compare Kōlhaṭī *chēnī*. In Western Pāshāwī, however, we find a similar word *chīś*, water.

chh is quite common; thus, *chhakān=kān*, ear; *chhapair=pair*, foot; *chhabārmī=bārmī*, woman; *chhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father; *chhabhantā* and *bhantā*, brother; *chhabhain* and *bhān*, sister. This *chh* often replaces the initial consonant; thus, *chhātī*, *chhapūtī* and *pūtī*, son; *chhanāt=bahāt*, much; *chhattā=bhattā*, a Sāsī man; *chhāhar=bāhar*, outside; *chhājak=balak*, tomorrow; *chhūhā=būhā*, door; *chhākhā=caikhā*, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr. Bailey restricts the change to such words as begin with *b*, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Shalkot, however, we also find forms such as *chhakān*, ear; *chhangāh=gunāh*, sin; *chhaghar*, house; *chhaurat*, woman; *chhakān*, who? *chhakṇā*, what? *chhagadhā*, ass, and so forth.

j and *jh* are used in the same way as *ch* and *chh*; thus, *jaḥā=baḥā*, big; *jhūkhā* and *chhūkhā=bhūkhā*, hungry.

ḍh is comparatively frequent; thus, *ḍhagal=gal*, neck; *ḍhandrē=uērē*, near; *ḍhabān=bān*, sister; *ḍhabāptā=bāptā*, father; *ḍhamulk=mulk*, country. In *ḍhāmā*, village, *ḍh* seems to have superseded an old *g*. *D* in *dimuā=jimnā*, to eat, is used in a similar way.

n is a common substitute for various sounds; thus, *nāī=chāī*, forty; *nōrī=chōrī*, theft; *nīriyā=chīriyā*, bird; *neōkṇā=chhōkrā*, boy; *nīkaṭ=fīkaṭ*, ticket; *nōmbū=fōmbū*, a house-breaking instrument; *naukhṇā=dēkhnā*, see; *nāñj=pāñj*, five; *naṇhā=paṇhā*, read; *nāchhṇa=pūchhṇā*, ask; *nair=pair*, foot; *nāgg=pāgg*, turban; *nēṭ=pēṭ*, belly; *nōhoṭ=bōhoṭ*, heap of grain; *nāllī=lāllī*, night; *nadhūk=pandūq*, box; *nāhō=sāhō*, sāhib; *naihr=ghahr*, city; *nāraj* or *nāhāraj=sūraj*, sun; *nāth=sāth*, with.

nh is often substituted for aspirated letters and for *s*; thus, *nhē=chhē*, six; *nhōḍḍā=chhōḍḍā*, leave; *nhōllē=chhōllē*, gram; *nhik=thik*, right; *nhāpā=thānā*, police station; *nhāī=thāī*, brass vessel; *nhittā=phittā*, abuse; *nhāt=sāt*, seven; *nhir=sir*, head; *nhikṇī=sikhṇā*, learn; *nhis=sis*, head, and so forth.

p does not seem to be much used in this way. I have found it in *pōdnā=chōdnā*, to have sexual intercourse with, and perhaps in *pīngī*, fire; *pīrl*, oil, etc.

b is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, *bēā*=*ēā*, this; *bīac*=*īac*, now; *bōṭṭhē*=*ōṭṭhē*, there; *baur*=*aur*, and; *bēk*=*ēk*, one. Before consonants we find *ba*; thus, *bagōllē*, gram; *balāū*, rupee. In *barlāṣhī*, stick, we have a double prefix *bar*. In other cases *b* replaces an initial consonant; thus, *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bāḍī*=*chāḍī*, silver; *bēndrā*=*jandrā*, lock; *bīcar*=*jhiār*, water-carrier; *bēgḍhā*=*saḡḍhā*, male buffalo; *banh*=*sanh*, house-breaking; *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *bunyārā*=*sunyārā*, goldsmith; *bīndū*, Hindu, etc.

r and *rh*, finally, are often substituted for *k*, *kh*, respectively; thus, *rāṭhī*=*kāṭhī*, saddle; *rēṭnā*=*kāṭnā*, cut; *rāl*=*kāl*, famine; *raūjī*=*kaūjī*, key; *rudāh* or *rhadhāi*=*khudā*, God; *rhaphā*=*khaṣā*, angry; *rhīmat*=*khīmat*, service; *rhēt*=*khēt*, field; *rhāṭ*=*khāṭ*, bed, and so forth.

It will be seen from the examples quoted that one and the same word often occurs in many variously disguised forms. Thus we find *khapair*, *chhapair*, *naīr* and *pair*, foot; *chhabāptā*, *dhahāptā* and *bāptā*, father; *bagōllē*, *nhōllē* and *chhōllē*, gram, and so on. There is not, so far as we can see, any principle according to which one or the other form is chosen. The use of different letters in order to make a word unrecognizable is, so far as can be ascertained, absolutely arbitrary, and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them.

Another way of disguising words is by adding consonants after them. Such additions are:—

k in *chuknā*, to speak; cf. *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. A *kh* has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in *mikhhlā*=*millā*, is being met with.

g is common after *r* in several pronominal forms; thus, *mērgā*, my; *tērgā*, thy; *kēhrgā*, which. It is further added after verbs such as *kauhgnā*=*kahnā*, tell; *rauhtgnā*=*rahnā*, remain; *gaugnā*, to go; *gaugā*, went, cf. *gayā*, went. It also occurs in several stray instances such as *kadgī*, ever; *kōggī*, *kōī*, anyone; *chang*=*chār*, four; *duhāngī*=*duhāī*, appeal; *hukamgā-kō*, the command, and so forth.

ṭh is added in *naūṭhā*=*nā*, name; *dūrṭhā*=*dūr*, far; *naīṭhī*=*nāī*, barber.

t occurs in forms such as *bāptā*, father; *bhauṭā*, brother; *mauṭā*, mother; and a double addition *dhrē* is used in *jaūdhre*=*jaū*, barley.

p is added after vocalic bases; thus, *dēpnā*, to give; *lēpnā*, to take; *hōpnā*, to become. Similarly *nāhpī*, not. The use of an added *b* is more doubtful. I have noted *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began; and in *chhāḍrā*=*chhagrā*, goat, *b* seems to have superseded *g* in the middle of a word.

r is added in words such as *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three. In *jasrā*, go; *asrā*, come, *sr* has been added after the base.

More sporadic interchange of consonants can be observed in forms such as *kumbhlā*=*kumhār*, potter; cf. *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy; *gaupā*=*gādhā*, ass, etc.

Abbreviated forms also occur; such are *kōndh*, the dark half of a month; *khōnā*=*khōlnā*, to open; *pāgg*=*pagrī*, turban.

The preceding examples will have shown that also the vowels are occasionally changed. Thus, *a* and *ā* become *u*, *o* and *ō*, respectively, when a *k* is prefixed; compare *kuggē*, before; *kōdmī*, man. When a *g* is added *a* and *ā* often become *au*; thus, *kauhgnā*, to tell; *gaugā*, went; *chang*, four. Compare also *bhauṭā*, brother;

mautī, mother. In other instances an *a*-sound is changed to *ē*: thus, *chēngūā*=*chāngī*, good; *bāyghā*=*ayghā*, male buffalo; *lēgbā*=*lagī*, began; *rēkhwaṣū*=*rakhṣā*, place; *rēfnā*=*kāfnā*, cat. *I* and *u* are sometimes interchanged; thus, *bīnī*=*binādā*, eardrop; *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier; *kharājū*=*rājī*, pleased. An *ē* or *ai* may be changed to *u* or *au*; thus, *khuntā*=*galatā*, pickaxe; *nukhūā*=*dēkhūā*, see; *ō* is occasionally replaced by *au* or *eō*; thus, *bannā*=*sōnā*, gold; *uōk/ā*=*chhōkrā*, boy. Other instances of interchange are *baleā*=*billā*, cat; *leōkrī*=*lōkrī*, wood; *gāddar*=*gīdar*, jackal, and so forth. All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary. Note also double changes in words such as *khadēpaṅgrā*=*dēnggrā*, will give; *khaniṭṭh*=*piṭṭh*, back; *chutkud*=*bēlud*, to speak; *chhangāh*=*gnaāh*, sin; *ghamkīr*=Kashmir; *ghumalmān*=Muslimān; *khūb*=*ūth*, camel, and so forth.

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect. The inflexional forms remain the same. The individual words alone are changed. Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape; compare *khamāi* and *maī*, by me; *khamērā*, *khamērgā*, *mērgā* and *mērā*, my, and so on. The present tense of the verb substantive is *hōpē*, *hōpē*, *hōpē*, and so forth, or *hōpē* throughout; "I went" is *ganhgā* or *jasriā* and so forth.

It follows from what has already been said that the Criminal Sāsī is not a separate dialect, and that the individual words have no fixed forms. Ordinary words are of course used to a great extent, and the degree in which they are disguised, and the manner of disguising, differ. The specimens which follow will give a good idea of this argot. The first two have been placed at my disposal by Dr. Grahamo Bailey, the chief authority on Sāsī. The third has been received from Gurdaspur. The Standard List of Words and Sentences in ordinary and criminal Sāsī, for which I am likewise indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bailey, will be found on pp. 178ff.

[No. 19.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSI.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Békki kōdmiā-gē dhōr bōrē thīyyē. Bun biēchā khikē
 One man-of two boys were. Them among by-the-little
 bāptē-gū kauhgiā ki, 'hē bāptē, dhamālā-gā jhrgā khissa mērgā
 father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of what share mine
 asrta hōpē, manūl dēpi nōd.' Bun bun-kō khappā nhārgā
 coming is, me-to giving leave. By-him them-to own all
 dhamāl khabaṭi noḍiā. Nhōrē khrōjē nichhē khikē bōrē nhārgā
 property dividing was-left. Few days after by-little boy all
 māl natthā kūligē khadār dhamulkā biēch jārīgē rauhgiā,
 property together having-made distant country in having-gone stayed,
 tē bōthē nhārgē naisē nhairē nammē biēch khalāi noḍiā
 and there all piece evil works in expending left.
 Jad nhārgā nharch kōli līnā, bus dhamulkā biēch jadā
 When all spent doing was-taken, that country in great
 dhakāl ṭawīā. Bōh chhauṭi naurā ṭawīā. Tad bus dhamulkā-gē
 famine fell. He very narrow fell. Then that country-of
 békki kōdmiā-gē nās gaugā, bun bus-kō khappā nāiṭē biēch tādē
 one man-of near went, by-him him own fields in pigs
 nhugānō ghelwiā, tē bus-kī kharjī thī bun ṭāphlē-gū jhrgē
 to-graze he-was-sent, and him-of wish was those fadders which
 tādē dīmtē thīyyē khappā nēt nharē; bus-kō kōi nahī dēptā
 pigs eating were own belly may-fill; him-to anyone not giving
 thīyyā. Bhī nōshā biēch asrīgē kauhgoē laggā, 'mērgē
 was. Then sense in having-come to-say began, 'my
 bāptē-gē nās jadē khajūrē-gū chhauṭi ṭimī hōpē, tē hañ
 father-of near many hired-labourers-to much food is, and I
 chhūkha lūgtā hōpē. Hañ khappē bāptē nās jasraṅgrā tē
 hungry dying am. I own father near will-go and
 kauhgaōgrā ki, "hē bāptē, māi namānā-gā tē tērgā jadā nasūr
 will-say that, "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy great sin

kūlā hōpē, biwkē haū his khajōgā nahī hōpē ki kōdmi manū tērgā
done is, now I this worthy not am that men me thy
 bōrā kauhḡē; dhamanū khajūrē jīdā rēkhwi nōḡ. ' ' Bhi
boy may-say; me hired-labourers like placing leave. ' ' Then
 buhḡē khapnē bāptē nās gaugā, tē bōh khajē khadār thīyyā,
having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,
 ki bus-kō naukhḡē bus-kē bāptē-gū dhrāhm asriā, tē bīḡkḡē
that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run
 bus-kō dhagaḡ layā tē chhauhi khachumiā. Bōrē bus-kō
him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed. By-boy him-to
 kauhḡiā ki, ' hē bāptē, māī dhamānā-gā tē tērgā unsār
it-was-said that, ' O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kūlā, biwkē his khajōgā nahī hōpē ki bhi tērgā bōrā
was-made, now this worthy not am that again thy boy
 rauhḡē. ' Bāptē khapnē khaukarē-gū kauhḡiā ki, ' nhārē
may-remain. ' By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ' all
 satthā chēḡguē rīchḡē lā-asrō tē his-kō dhalāḡ, tē lās-kē khōthā-gū
than fine clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to
 nhāp tē nhairē-gū paupī, tē tōmē kāngalā-gū lē-asrīgē balāl
ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed
 kūlō, ki dimā tē nushī kūlā. Mērgā bēā bōrā
make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make. My this boy
 lūḡi gaugā thīyyā, biwkē khajīwi tawīā; gawāp gaugā thīyyā,
having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone was,
 biw khalabhī tawīā. ' Bhi bōh nushī kūlō laggē.
now having-found fell. ' Then they merry to-make began.

Buskā jadā bōrā naiḡiā bīchch thīyyā. Jad khaulē asriā,
Him-of, big boy field in was. When house-to came,
 dhagaupē tē khannachpē-gā khawāj nhunā. Tad bēkkī
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one
 khansaukarā-gū chulāḡē nūchhiā ki, ' bēā kyā hōpē ? ' Buḡ
servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ' this what is ? ' By-him
 bus-kō kauhḡiā, ' tērgā bhautā asriā hōpē, tērgē bāptē tōmā
him-to it-was-said, ' thy brother come is, by-thy by-father fat
 kāngal balāl kūlā, khis nāstē ki bōh chēḡguā
calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that ' he well
 khalabhī tawīā. ' Bōh kharinj hōpiā tē bus-kī kharjī kandar
having-found fell. ' He angry became and him-of wish inside
 jasnē-gī nahī thi. Bhi bus-kā bāptā chhār asrīgē bus-kō
going-of not was. Then him-of father outside having-come him

kharajū kālṇa laggā. Bun bāptē-gū khwāb dēpiā, 'naukhi
 pleased to-make began. By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing
 lēp, khitnē narsē-gī tērgī khatahl kuitā hōpē, tē kadhi tērgā khākhā
 take, so-many years-of thy service doing am, and ever thy saying
 nahī nōriā; tē taī kadhi bēk chhābrī nahī dēpi, ki
 not was-broken; and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that
 khappē 'khōstē nāthth nushi kālē; jad tērgā bēā bōrā asriā
 own friends with merry may-make; when thy this boy come
 jip tērgā dhamāl bēnjriē biēch lāyā, taī bus-kē
 by-whom thy property harlots among was-spent, by-thee him-of
 liyyē tōmā kāngal balāl kūliā.' Bun bus-kō kauhiā,
 for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made.' By-him him-to it-was-said,
 'taū nadā mērgē nās hōpē; jihrgā mērgā hōpē, tērgā hōpē. Par
 'thōn alwāys my side art; what mine is, thine is. But
 naujā kūlnā tē nush hōpā chāhitā thiyyā; kyū, tērgā bēā
 merriments to-make and happy to-be proper was; why, thy this
 bhantā lūgī gaugā thiyyā, biwkē jiwī tawīā; gawān gaugā
 brother having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone
 hiyyā, biwkē khalabhi tawīā.
 was, now finding fell.'

[No. 20.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSL.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Mhārgē dhōr pīr nurē jasartē thīyyē. Bēkki nādd
Our two saints going-along going were. One village
 ehēngnē gaugē. Bēkki khētīā nāsā khadūddh chhēngiā.
to-beg went. One female-Jaff from milk was-asked.
 Bup nahl dēpiā. Buh nuri gangē, bus-kā khadūddh
By-her not was-given. They going-away went, her-of milk
 khalahū hōpi gaugā. Bup khētīā nōkhiā bhāi khadūddh
blood becoming went. By-that female-Jaff it-was-seen that milk
 khalahū hōpi gaugā, buh bhī nēchhē binki. Bupō kauhgiā,
blood becoming went, she then after ran. By-them it-was-said,
 'bōri, jasar, tērgā khadūddh busi narah hōpi jasngrā.' Buh khusā
'girl, go, thy milk that-very way becoming will-go.' She home
 asari tē nōkhiā, tē khadūddh busi narah hōpi gaugā thīyyā.
went and it-was-seen, and milk that-very way becoming gone was.
 Bupī dhōr pīrē ōṇē bēkk karāmāt kūlī Bēkki
Those-very two by-saints by-them one miracle was-done. By-one
 arkā nāthth dōph nuttī. Bhī bus-kō khriddigē
elbow with iguana was-dug-up. Then it having-cooked
 dīmiā. Bhī bup nūsrē-gē kauhgiā bhāi, 'maī nuttī.
it-was-eaten. Then by-him other-to it-was-said that, 'by-me was-dug-up,
 taī bis-kō bhī narājīt kūl.' Bhī bup kōddiā nāththū
thou this again alive make.' Then by-him bones together
 kūliā, tē kōthth nhērigē kauhgiē lagga, 'jasar khahachēha,
were-made, and hand having-cared to-say began, 'go little-one,
 binki jasar.' Bhī buh binki gaugi tē narājīt hōpi
running go.' Then it running went and alive becoming
 gaugi. Tē bup dhōrē pīrē-gē nāthhē Bhalād Bhagat tē
went. And those two saints-of names Bhalād Bhagat and
 Malang thīyyē, tē Bhalād Bhagat Malangā-gā dhamāmā thīyyā.
Malang were, and Bhalād Bhagat Malang-of mother's-brother was.

¹ For a free translation of this specimen, see above, p. 53.

[No. 21.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSL.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT GURDASPUR.

Bēki mānkhē-tē dhōr chhabōhrē thē. Khikē-nē bappā-thiā
One man-to two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kaugiā paī, 'ē bappā, jō mērgiā dhagliā asartā hai chhaīdvi
it-was-said that, 'O father, which my share coming is dividing
 dē.' Jō kuchh thiā chhaīdvi dīnā. Thōrī dīhā pichhūā
give.' What ever was dividing was-given. Few days after
 khikē chhabōhrē-nē nabh kuchh lēpī-kē dūr dhamulkhā-kō
younger son-by all whatever having-taken distant country-to
 chilpiā gōgā. Bōthī jasrī jāi raugiā; jērā dhamāl
walked went. There having-gone having-gone stayed; what property
 thiā, bō bōthī dīmī hūā. Jad nabh kuchh rharch kūlī
was, that there eating was-taken. When all whatever spent making
 dēpiā, bus dhamulkhā wīchh chhant rāl faul gaugā, hōr
was-given, that country in great famine falling went, and
 chhākhā lūgnē lēgbā, ta bēki rārū khaulē jasrī raugiā.
hungry to-die began, and one citizen in-house having-gone stayed.
 Bus-kō tūdhē nageō-nē nbējiā. Bus-kā biyāhī matbal thiā paī
Him-to wine to-graze it-was-sent. Him-of this desire was that
 'jō nhikkar tūdhē dīmī bōi nhikkar dīmī-kē nhōt nhar
'which husks wine eat those husks having-eaten belly fill
 lēpūgā,' paī bus-kō kōi dēptā nāhī thiā. Nhēr bus-nū nhurt
may-take,' because him-to anyone giving not was. Then him-to sense
 asrī gaugi baur kaugnē lēgbā ki, 'mērgē bappā-kē khabauht khīfī
coming went and to-say began that, 'my father-of much bread
 mikhiltī thī, haū chhākhā lūgtā haī. Haū kūthī-kē āpnē
being-got was, I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own
 bāptē-kē nhās jasrūgā baur bus-kō kaugūgrā paī, 'ē bāptē, māī
father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, 'O father, by-me
 tērgā baur rhadhāi-kā chhangāh kūliā, baur hīa khalāikī-kā nāhpi
thy and God-of sin was-done, and this worthiness-of not

ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhō kangā. Mungō kuāpnē rāmā
that me thy son men may-call. He own servants
 khawichcha bēk khamjūr chhanōwi lepp." Ib kuāpnē bappā
among one hired-labourer engaging take." Then own father
 nhās khaturi chilpiā. Oh aje dārthē thiā, khabappā-kō khadēkhī-kē
near walking went. He yet far-off was, father-to having-seen
 kharāhm asriā, baur dārkhī-kē chhaglā-kē nhāth lōwī lōpiā baur
compassion came, and having-run neck-of with applying took and
 khachuminiā. Bōlrē-nē bus-kō kaugiā, 'rē bōp, māi tērgā
kissed. Son-by him-to it-was-said, 'O father, by-me thy
 ar rhabhāi-kā dhagnāh kūliā. Is khalāiki-kā khunāhī khusāhī
and God-of sin was-done. This worthiness-of not now
 tērgā bōlrā dhamannū. kaugē.' Phabappē kuāpnē khanaukrē-kō
thy son me they-may-call. By-the-father own servants-to
 kaugiā pai. 'kouchchhi dalmiā lēpī asar baur bās-kē dāwō,
it-was-said that, 'good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,
 baur khōthā wichchī nhāp chaugāi khapkaī dāwī dēpō. baur ham
and hand on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we
 khadimē ar rhusi kūlā, pai khamērā chhabōhrā lōgi
eating and merry let-make, that my son having-died
 gaugiā, khajiwi (awīā; guāchgī gangā siā, khabib Bihwi tawīā.' Bīl
went, alive fell; lost gone was, now found fell? Now
 bōh rhusi kūlnā lēgbē.
they merry to-make began.

Jadā chhabōhrā rbētā wichchī thiā. Jad khaulē nhās asriā
Big boy field in was. When house near came
 roāchnē-kī khaūāchnē-kī dhawāj nhūnī Khatad khanaukrē-kō
singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard, Then servants-to
 chalōwī-kō nūchhiā, 'hīa chhiā hōpi raugiā?' Bus-nē
having-called it-was-asked, 'this what becoming is?' Him-by
 kaugiā, 'tērgā bhāulā asriā, baur tērgē bappā-nē khijī dhamaī pal
it-was-said, 'thy brother came, and thy father-by feast was-given that
 kharājū-khabājū mikhli tawīā.' Bus-nē rhabā hōpi-kō khaūāhī
safe-and-sound being-met fell. Him-by angry becoming not
 khachūhiā pai. 'kūndar jāsā.' Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhar asrikē
wished that, 'inside I-may-go.' His father-by outside having-come
 bqa-kō chhamanāyā. Bus-nē bappā-kō khajawāb dēpi dīnā,
him-to was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer having-given was-given,
 'khaḍēkh, bitnē nhālē tērgi rhiḷmat kūtā rihā, baur khatērgi
'see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy

hukamgā-kō kadgī khañāhī makhōriā. Pur khataī radi bēk
order ever not was-transgressed. But by-thee ever one
 chhēbriā-kā chhāunā khañāhī dēpiā ki āpnē khadōstā nhāth rhusī
she-goat-of kid not was-given that own friends with merry
 kūlā. Baur jad khatērā biā chhabōhrā asriā khajis-nē khatērā
may-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy
 khamāl dhāchhiñā khawichch khadēwiā, khataī bus-kō khawāstē khīti
property harlots among was-wasted, by-thee him-of for-the-sake feast
 kūlī. Bus-nē kaugiā, 'bē chhabōhrē, khataū mērgē nhās
was-made.' Him-by it-was-said, 'O son, thou my near
 nhadhāi hōpāi, baur jō khamērgā hai, sō tērgā-i hai. Par
always art, and what mine is, that thine-also is. But
 nhusi kūlnī khachāhiti hōpai, khakyū, ēh tērgā bhāutā luggī
merry to-make proper is, why, this thy brother having-died
 gaugā, khajīwi tawiā; dhaguāchi gaugā, baur lēhhwi tawiā.
went, alive fell; lost went, and being-found fell.'

KŌLHĀṬĪ.

The Kōlhāṭīs are a tribe of rope dancers and tumblers in Bombay, Berar and the Hyderabad State. They are said¹ to take their name from *kōlhāṭ*, the bamboon on which they perform. The corresponding Kanarese form of the name, however, is *kollāṭiga*, which is a compound of *kol-kōl*, a stick, a rod, and *aṭiga*, a player. In the Bombay Presidency they are also called Dōmbārī or Dōmbhārī, which word must have something to do with Dōm, the name of another Gipsy tribe. According to Mr. Balfour they call themselves Bhatū; compare *bhattū*, the name used by Sāsīs to indicate a man of their tribe.

In the Bombay Presidency the Kōlhāṭīs are also makers of the small buffalo horn pulleys which are used with cart ropes in fastening loads. They also make hide combs and gunpowder flasks. When a girl comes of age, she is called to choose between marriage and prostitution. If, with her parents' consent, she wishes to lead a married life, she is well taken care of and carefully watched. If she chooses to be a tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is declared a prostitute. The prostitutes are not allowed to eat with other Kōlhāṭīs, except with their own children. Still, when they grow old, their caste-fellows support them.² According to Major Gunthorpe,³ the Kōlhāṭīs of the Dekhan 'belong to the great Sānsya family of robbers and claim their descent from Mallanūr, the brother of Sānsmal. There are two tribes, Dukar Kōlhāṭīs and Kam or Pāl Kōlhāṭīs. The former are a non-wandering criminal tribe, whereas the latter are a non-wandering criminal class. Depraved in morals, the males of both tribes subsist to a great extent on the prostitution of some of their females, though let it be said to the credit of the former that they are not so bad as the latter. They labour for themselves by cultivating land, by taking service as village watchmen, or by hiring themselves to villages to destroy that pest of Indian farmers, the wild dog, and above all they are professional robbers. Kam Kōlhāṭīs, on the other hand, are a lazy, good-for-nothing class of men who, beyond making a few combs and shuttles of bone, will set their hands to no class of labour, but subsist mainly by the immoral pursuits of their women.'

At the last Census of 1911 Kōlhāṭīs were returned only from the Hyderabad State where they were said to be 1,143 in number. The returns of the Census of 1901 were much fuller, and were as follows:—

Bombay Presidency—

Bombay Town	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	123
Thana	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	78
Ahmednagar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	588
Khandesh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	435
Nasik	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	383
Poona	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	324
Satara	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	334
Sholapur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	187
Carried over	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,510

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, ii, 123ff.² *Bombay Gazetteer*, xi, 184³ *Criminal Tribes*, p. 40ff

Bombay Presidency—*contd.*

Brought forward	2,310
Akalkot	85
Bhar	7
Satara Agency	19
Belgaum	409
Bijapur	148
Dharmwar	380
Kanara	15
Kolaba	306
Ratnagiri	2
Kolhapur	270
Southern Maratha Country	473
Savantwadi	67

TOTAL BOMBAY PRESIDENCY 4,681

Berar—

Amravati	88
Akola	638
Ellichpur	164
Buldana	281
Wani	97
Basim	67

TOTAL BERAR 1,325

Hyderabad—

Gulbargah	1,049
Naldurg	3,022
Hyderabad	67
Nander	88
Sirpur Tandur	491
Parbhani	75
Bhir	229
Aurangabad	385
Indar	1

TOTAL HYDERABAD 6,007

GRAND TOTAL 12,013

Specimens of a dialect called Kōlhāṭī have been forwarded from Berar and also from the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. They all agree in so many particulars that we are justified in talking of a Kōlhāṭī dialect, and there is no reason for supposing that the Kōlhāṭīs of the Bombay Presidency use a different form of speech. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Kōlhāṭī was returned from the following districts :—

Bombay Presidency—

Ahmednagar	790
Poona	350
Satara	150

1,290 . . . 1,290

Berar—

Amravati	127
Akola	640
Ellichpur	200
Buldana	150

1,117 . . . 1,117

Central Provinces—

Chanda	50	50
	Total	2367

Authority. A Kōlhāṭi vocabulary has been published in the following work :—

BALFOUR, EDWARD.—*On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. xiii, Part i, 1844, pp. 1 and ff. Note on the "Bhatoos" on p. 12; vocabulary, pp. 17 and f.

Mr. Balfour states that the names of the tribe are Bhatoo, Doonur or Kollati.

Dialect. Bhatoo is identical with the Sāsi word *bhattū*, a Sāsi man. The corresponding Kōlhātī feminine *bhatāni* means 'wife' and is identical with Sāsi *bhatāni*, a Sāsi woman. It is tempting to infer a closer relationship between Kōlhātī and Sāsi from this, and indeed, an examination of Kōlhātī shows that it is a dialect of the same kind as Sāsi and connected forms of speech. With regard to phonology we may here note the frequency with which consonants are doubled, while the preceding vowel often is long or half long; thus, *ṣkka*, one; *rakkh*, keep; *kḥoggā*, house; *ruṭṭi*, bread; *uṭṭhī*, having arisen; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out; *sḍṭṭa*, seven; *baddhē*, were bound; *rāṇna*, ear; *kḥumma*, mouth; *bhallā*, much. Other phonetical features are of less significance. Such are the occasional change of *ch* to *s* in the Ellichpur specimens; compare *kḥarsī*, spent; the change of *ḥ* to *y* in Akola, a common occurrence in the current Marāṭhī of the district; compare *rāy*=*kal*, famine; *muyē* and *mudē*, on account of. The interchange of hard and soft sounds in words such as *ap-sī*, from now; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out, but *kaḍḍ*, draw, in the Akola specimens may also prove of interest.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Pañjābī-Sāsi. We may note the frequent ā-termination of the oblique form of masculine bases ending in ī or a consonant, and of feminines, an important point of agreement with Sāsi; compare *khētā-mē*, in the field; *ārōpiyā-thō*, near the accused; *bhātāniyā-nē*, by the wife. In Akola we find the Gujarātī termination ō in forms such as *bāpō*, fathers; *khōggō-mē-si*, from in the house; *kachēriō-mē*, in court.

The case terminations are broadly the same as in Hindōstānī, viz.:—case of the agent -*nē*; dative -*ku*, -*kô*; ablative -*sē*, -*sī*; genitive -*kā*, *kī*, *kē*, *kū*; locative -*mē*.

With regard to pronouns we may note *hā*, I; *ham*, we, in Akola. In Buldana, Ellichpur and Chanda, we find *mē*, *mī*, I; compare Marāṭhī. In Ellichpur we also find the form *mērē-ku*, to me, which was also used in the Bēldāri of the same neighbourhood. Note also forms such as *jabbā*, then, in Akola, which remind us of Rājasthānī.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Pañjābī and Sāsi. In the Akola specimens forms such as *kahēṅgā*, said, are translated as past tenses. In the list of words, however, we find *hōṅgā*, I shall be; compare the Sāsi future suffix *grā*. The future of *mārnā*, to beat, is stated to be *māraṅg* throughout all persons and numbers in Akola. In Ellichpur we find future forms such as *jānēgā*, I shall go; *ballēgā*, I shall say.

The general character of Kôlhâti will be seen from the beginning of a version of the Parable which follows. It has been forwarded from Ellichpur.

[No. 22.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŪLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Yakki mankhā-ku dō chhōrē huvē. Dōnō-mē-kā nhannā happā-ku
One man-to two sons were. Both-in-of younger father-to
 balyā, 'happa, jē jingī-kā battā hai, sē mērē-ku dē.' Majē
said, 'father, which property-of share is, that me-to give.' Then
 un-nō jingī battī di. Majē thōdē dinā-sē nhannā
him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-after younger
 chhōrā sagal gōlā kari mulkhā-war gayā. Aplē jingī
son all together having-made country-to went. Own property
 mastiyē-sī udāi dii, kharsī sarī gai. Us mulkhā-mē
debauchery-in wasting was-given, spent all went. That country-in
 badā kā padyā, u-sutti us-ku adchan padī. Us waktā-kō us
big famine fell, that-for him-to distress fell. That time-at that
 mulkā-sī yakki mankhā thānē jāi rahyā; unō apnē
country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own
 khētā-mē tājē charāwnē bhājī diyā. O tādē kōndā
fields-in pigs to-lead having-sent he-was-given. Those swine husks
 khātē thiyē, o khāi pēt bharnō aisā us-ku
eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to
 bātyā; us-ku kinē kāi diyā nai. Majē o
it-appeared; him-to by-anyone anything was-given not. Then he
 sudī-mē āisanē balyā, 'mērē happā-kē gharā-ku mankhā-ku rutti pēt
sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of house-at men-to bread belly
 bhari milti; mī bhukkā martā. Mī ntthī mērē happā-kōnē
filling is-got; I starving die. I having-arisen my father-near
 jānēga, us-ku ballēgā, "ō happā, bindē-kē irud an tērē
will-go, him-to will-say, "O father, heaven-of against and of-thee
 āga mi-nī pāp karyā. Abthunā-sī mī tērā bētā kaynē-kē lāik
before me-by sin was-done. Now-from I thy son saying-of worthy
 nai. Aplē chākriyē-kē gadīyē-wānī mērē-ku rakkha." Majē utyā,
not. Own service-of labourer-like me keep." Then arose,
 utti happā-kunē gayā.
having-arisen father-near went.

The few Kūlhātīs of Chanda use a similar form of speech. The usual past tense of verbs, however, more closely agrees with Hindōstānī; compare *bōlā*, said; *lagā*, began. Other details will be ascertained from the version of a well-known tale which follows.

[No. 23.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KOLHĀTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHANDA.

Ekka ādmīya-ku dō nhanē laḍkē thīya, ek chhōrā an ek chhōrī.
One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl.
 Chhōrā thīyā, wō muwā-mē baḍā bānglā thīyā, chhōrī nīśi-ch thīya.
Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was.
 Ekka din wō dō-jhanē chhōrē aīnē-kō najik khaltē thīya. Chhōrā
One day those two-people children glass-of near playing were. Boy
 chhōriya-ku bōltā, 'aya, yē aīnē-mē dikka bhalā nikkī kōn disti
girl-to says, 'O, this glass-in see well good who is-appearing
 ki.' Chhōriya-ku wō nikkā nahi lagā. Us-kō samjhā
what? Girl-to that good not appeared. Her-to it-was-thought
 ki is-nē yē āplyā-ku hināwnē-ku bōlā. Piclhā unā
that this-by this herself lowering-for was-said. Afterwards her-by
 happā-kō najik bhayya-kō gārhanē bōllē. Wō bōlī, 'bappā,
father-of near brother-of complaints were-said. She said, 'father,
 kōynē-mē khum dikhi khushī pūnā, yē bāykā-kā kām; us-mē
glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-get, this women-of work; that-in
 ādmīya-nē man ghālnā nahi.' Bappā-nē, dō-jhanē-kō pētā-sī pakadi
man-by mind to-be-put not.' Father-by both breast-to clasping
 us-kō khushī kiyā. Wō bōlā, 'chhōrēnō, tum laḍhu na-kō.
her-to satisfaction was-made. He said, 'children, you fight not-should.
 Ajā-sī tum dō-jhanē-bhī dinā-mā aīnē-mē dekhtē jā.
To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A man had two small children, a son and a daughter. The boy was very good looking, the girl was of indifferent beauty. One day the two children were playing near the looking-glass. The boy said to the girl, 'come, let us look in the glass to see who is the prettiest.' This did not please the girl. She thought that he did it in order to humiliate her. Then she went to her father and complained of the boy. She said, 'to derive pleasure from looking at one's face in a glass is the business of women; a man should not put his mind on such things.' The father clasped both to his bosom, satisfied her and said, 'children, don't quarrel. I should like both of you to look into the glass every day.'

The word *kōynē-mē*, in the glass, in the Chanda specimen, where a *k* has been added in front of the word *ainē-mē*, reminds us of various methods of disguising words in Criminal Sāsī and similar argots.

Argot.

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kōlhāṭīs know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as *kājī*, woman; *khōggā*, house; *khūm*, mouth, face; *chēnī*, water; *tummī*, head; *ṭannā*, fall; *(hāy)*, beat; *ṭicā*, rupee; *ṭhōkuā*, sit; *duttā*, cat; *dhēḍ*, a Mahār (lit. a huge, burly, person); *bhatānī*, wife; *hēṭṭī*, women, and so on. Common words are moreover disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as *kajēṭā*=*bēṭā*, child; *kōkkha*=*ākḥ*, eye; *kōḍmī*=*ādmī*, man; *kōhōt*=*hāth*, hand; *khūt*=*ūth*, camel; *khanākka*=*nāk*, nose; *khanajik*=*najik*, near; *khūmbar*=*umar*, age; *khōran*=*haran*, deer, and so forth. It should be noted that after *k*, *kh*, an *a*-sound is often replaced by an *o*-sound, just as is the case in Sāsī.

As in Sāsī and similar argots a palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, *chaḍā*=*baḍā*, big; *chhut*=*bhūt*, devil; *(ka)jēṭā*=*bēṭā*, boy; *jōhōt*=*bahut*, much.

ṭh and *dh* are prefixed in words such as *ṭhamāl*, property; *ṭhamarnā*, to die; *dhōkkal*, a dog.

Of dentals we find *th* in *thēr*, three, and *dh* in *dhōr*, two. Moreover *n* is a common substitute; thus, *nān*=*chād*, moon; *nyār*=*chār*, four; *nōr*=*chōr*, thief; *nāt*=*jāt*, caste; *nāb*=*jibh*, tongue; *nāṭṭa*=*dāt*, tooth; *nusrā*=*ḍusrā*, other; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly; *nāch*=*pāch*, five; *nōkkaḍ*=*bōkkaḍ*, goat; *nihē*=*liyē*, for the sake of. This *n* is sometimes aspirated, when it has been substituted for an aspirate or *s*; thus, *nhēt*=*khēt*, field; *nhūḍ*=*ḍhūḍ*, tree; *nhāmē*=*sāmuē*, before; *nhuriyā*=*suriyā*, sun.

B is prefixed in words such as *bēk*, one; *bua*, him; *bēṭhē-sī*, from here. It replaces an old initial in words such as *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bannagar*=*dhungar*, shepherd; *bōnnā*=*sōnā*, gold.

R is apparently only used instead of an initial guttural; thus, *ris-kā*, whose? *rēṭṭī*, how much? *rānna*=*kān*, ear; *rāy*=*gāy*, cow; *rāw*=*gāw*, village; *rhup*=*khūb*, well; *rhōḍā*=*ghōḍā*, horse; *rhālō*=*ghālō*, put.

Sometimes also words are disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus *gh* has been added in *gōghā*, went; *rōghyā*, stayed; a palatal has been suffixed in *bānchī*, sister; *nānchhā*, small; *nānchhā*, name; *hōchchē*, is, etc. Other additions are *tā* in *bāptā*, father; *bhārotā*, brother; *p* in *dēppa*, give; *lyēp*, take; *r* in *dhōr*, two; *w* in *āwōtā*, comes; *s* and *sar* in *jāsra*, go; *āsartā*, comes, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained by studying the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second is the deposition of a witness. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 24.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KOLHATĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT AROLA.

Kōi bēk kōdmī-kō dhōr bōrē hōchehe. Bus-mā-kā nhamnā
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-of younger
 bōrā happā-ku kahēngdā, 'bappā, yō mērā thamālā-kā nāttā mā-ku
son father-to said, 'father, this my property-of share me-to
 āsartā, wō mō-ku dēppō.' Jabō bus-nē bunh-kō nhampat nāttā
comes, that me-to give! Then him-by them-to property deciding
 dēppi. Jabō nhōdē dīnā-sī nhansā bōrā sab namā
was-given. Then few days-from small son all together
 kariknāi dūr nēsā-mē gōghā, anī wōthē khudādēpanā-sī
having-made far country-in went, and there riotousness-with
 iyā ahi khāplī nhampat khudāi dēppi. Jabō bus-nē
was-taken and own property having-wasted was-given. Then him-by
 sab rharehē-par bus mulkhā-mē chadā rāy tawyā, bus-muyō
all spent-after that country-in big famine fell, that-on-account-of
 bus-ku khadchan tavi. Jad ō bus nēsā-mē-kā bēkkā rarasthā-kē
him-to difficulty fell. Then he that country-in-of one man-of
 khanajik jāik rūghyā. Bun-nē bus-ku khāplē nhētā-mē nhār
near having-gone stayed. Him-by him own field-in swine
 narāwnē nāthāyā. Jad sūr jō narphāl khātā thiyā bus-par
to-feed was-sent. Then swine which husks eating were those-on
 khāplā pēt bharnā ēsā bus-kē nīlā-mē āyā; ākhin
own belly should-be-filled thus his heart-in came; and
 kin-nē bus-ku kāhī dēppā nāhī. Jad ō nhudī-par
anybody-by him-to anything was-given not. Then he sense-on
 āiknāhī kahēngdā, 'mērē bappā-kē ēthē ritēk nhāldārā-ku
having-come said, 'my father-of with how-many servants-to
 nhar-pūr rōtti miltī, ākhin hū bhukkā-sī thamartā.
belly-full bread is-got, and I hunger-from am-dying.'
 Utthi khāplē bappā-kē baṅg jāngdā wa bus-kē kēlē, 'nō
Having-arisen own father-of near went and him-to said, 'O
 bāptē, mē-nē nēwā-kē khirdi wa tērē nhāmnē nāp karyā
father, me-by God-of against and of-thee before sin done

hē. Ap-sī tērā chhōrā kēhēnē-kē hū lāyak nāhī.
is. Now-from thy son saying-of I worthy not.
 Narantu bappā-nē khāplē nakrā-ku kahyā, 'śābut rapdā
But father-by own servants-to it-was-said, 'good cloth
 lāi bus-ku rhallō; ākhin bus-kē kōhōtā-mē khāngōī wō
having-taken him-to put; and his hand-on ring and
 gōtē-mē jōdvē rhallō. Jab āpun khāi nēn karāng.
foot-on shoes put. Then we having-eaten merry shall-make.
 Kāran yō mērā chhōrā mari gayā thiyā, ō phiriknāi
Because this my son having-died gone was, he again
 jiwā huwā; wō jattā rhiyā thiyā, ō milyā. Jab
living became; he lost remaining was, he was-found. Then
 ō harikh karhī rihē.
they merriment making were.

[No. 25.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KOLHATI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Jānu walad Hari, nāt Kolhātī, khumbar baras tis, basti
Jānu son-of Hari, caste Kolhātī, age years thirty, residence
 Kāndī, nēwā-kī ān lī kēhātā kē ājmās pandhrā din huē
Kāndī, God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days become
 hōngē, rōj sūkarwār dī rātī hū wō bhatānī ān dhōr chhōrē
may-be, day Friday day at-night I and wife and two children
 ittē khōggē-mō suktē thīē, Jab dhōr pēhērā-kē rātī-kō
so-many house-in sleeping were. Then two watch-of night-of
 sūmhārā-mē mērē bhatānīyā-nē mū-ku jāgī karyā ākhin kīhī
approximation-in my wife-by me awaking was-made and saying
 rihī kē, 'khōggē-mō bhāṇḍē bajī rihipē, ākhin kōdmī-kā chāhāy
she-was that, 'house-in pots sounding are, and man-of noise
 āwtā hē, jāb uṭhī.' Bus-par-sō hū uṭhyā ākhin bhītī-kē baṅg
coming is, then rise.' That-on-from I rose and wall-of near
 dēkhyā. Jābī bhōk mū-ku dīkhyā. Bus-par-sō mū-ku khās
it-was-seen. Then hole me-to was-seen. That-on-from me-to certainly
 wāṭyā kē kōi-tō-bī khōggā phōḍī māhāy ghusyā hē.
it-appeared that somebody house having-broken inside entered is.
 Khōggā-mō dīwā nāhī thīyā. Mērē bichhāwnā-tanhē aṅgār-pēṭī thī.
House-in lamp not was. My bed-under match-box was.
 Mō-nē lagēch gāddhī bus-kō pēṭāi. Ittē-mō yō āropī
Me-by at-once having-taken-out it was-lighted. This-much-in this accused
 bhītī-kē pādēl bhōkā-ṭhōk jāi-riyā. Bus-par mērī najar gayē-barōbar
wall-of made hole-near going-was. That-on my sight gone-immediately
 mē-nē bus-ku pakadyā, ākhin bus-kā kōhōt pakadyā. Bus-kō kēhāṅḍā
me-by him-to was-seized, and him-of hand was-seized. Him-to I-said
 kē, 'arō nōcā, katthē chalyā?' Bus-par-sī bus-kī ān mērī
that, 'O thief, where moved?' That-on-from him-of and of-me
 jhōmbājhōmbī khub hūi, wō mē-nē khōggō-mē-sī kalhā karyā.
struggling much became, and me-by house-in-from noise was-made.

Bus-par-sī khōggē-kē sējārī-lōk Sitārām wō Iṭhōbā ēsē āyē.
That-on-from house-of neighbours Sitārām and Iṭhōbā these came.

Ittē-mē mērē bhatāniyā-nē diwā lagāyā, ākhin khōggē-kē mähāy-kī
This-much-in my wife-by lamp was-lighted, and house-of inside-of
 sākkayī gāddhī, wō uprē jō isam likhyē vē mähāy
chains were-taken-off, and above which persons were-written those inside
 āyē. Jab mu-ku bhallā jōr āyā; jab is ārōpiyā-ṭhō
came. Then me-to much strength came; then this accused-near

dēkhyē, tō pāch khanna nīkyē. Vē khanna thātā tīvē
it-was-seen, then five bodices came-out. Those bodices three rupees
 kimatī-kē hē. Vē mērē hē, bhatāniyā-kē gathōdē-mē thiyē. Ō
worth-of are. They mine are, wife-of cloth-bundle-in were. That

gathōdā chakkiyā-ṭhōkē utyaniyā-ṭhō thiyā. Is-kē siwāi nusrā
bundle grinding-stone-near-of jar-pile-near was. This-of excepting other

māl gayā nāhī. Ham-nē thērā-nē bus-kē kōhōt baddhē, ākhin
property went not. Us-by three-by him-of hands were-bound, and
 lagēch paṭālā-kē baṅg lī gayō, wō hui hakikat paṭālā-kō
at-once Paṭāl-of near having-taken went, and happened account Paṭāl-to

kahī. Bus-par-sī paṭālā-nē chaukidārā-kē wō dhōdā-kē tābē-mē
was-told. That-on-from Paṭāl-by watchman-of and mahār-of custody-in

ārōpi-ku diyā, ākhin sabērē-kē pēhēr pōlis ṭhēsan Bārsī-Tāklīyā-ku
the-accused-to was-given, and morning-of time police station Bārsī-Takli-to
 paṭhāyō. Ārōpi kis rāw-kā hē, bus-kē nāwohā kyā hē, yō
he-was-sent. The-accused which village-of is, his name what is, this

mu-ku mālum nāhī, kārān-kē ō hamārē rāwā-kā nāhī. Diwā lagāwnē-kē
me-to known not, because he our village-of not. Lamp lighting-of
 nihē mē-nē aṅgār-pēṭī-kī kāḍī ṓḍhī. Ittē-mē ō ārōpi
in-order me-by match-box-of stick was-rubbed. This-much-in that accused

bhōkkā-kē khanaṭīk dikhānā. Bus-muḍē mu-ku diwā lagāwtā
hole-of near appeared. That-on-account-of me-to lamp being-lighted
 āyā nāhī. Bhūti-kē pādēl bhōkkā-mē-sī kōdmī-ku aḍchan-mē-sī jānā
came not. Wall-of broken hole-in-from man-to difficulty-in-from to-go

āwnā awtā. Kachērīō-mē huwā khīḍā jis khīḍē-sē bhūti-ku bhōk
to-come comes. Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole
 pādya, ō mu-ku bhōkā-kē najikā-kē nūḥwnīyā-mē mīlyā.
was-split, that me-to hole-of near-of bathroom-in was-found.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I, Jānu, son of Hari, a Kōlhāṭī by caste, aged thirty, a resident of Kandi, state on oath that, about a fortnight ago, on a Friday night, I and my wife and two children were sleeping in the house. At midnight my wife roused me and said, 'there is a rattling of pots in the house, and footsteps are heard, therefore get up.' Then I got up and on looking towards the wall I saw a hole in it. I then understood that somebody must have broken into the house. There was no light in the house, but there was a match-box beneath my bed. I immediately got hold of it and lighted a match. Then this very accused began to move towards the hole made in the wall. As soon as I saw him, I caught hold of him and holding him by the hand said to him, 'Ah thief, where are you off for?' Then there was a great struggle between him and me, and I cried out loudly from within the house. Thereupon my neighbours Sitārām and Iṭhōbā came. In the meantime my wife lighted a lamp and unchained the door from within, and the persons just noted stepped into the house. Then I felt much strength. When the accused was searched five pieces of bodice-cloth were found on him. They are worth three rupees. They are mine and were in the bundle of my wife, which was near the jar-pile by the grinding stone. Nothing besides this is lost. We three bound the hands of the accused and immediately took him to the Paṭēl and informed him of what had happened. The Paṭēl gave the accused in charge of a chaukidār and a mahār and in the morning sent him to the police station at Barsi Takli. I do not know from what village the accused is or what his name is, for he does not belong to our village. I struck a match to light the lamp; and then I saw the accused at the hole. Therefore I could not light the lamp. A man can with difficulty go in and out of the hole made in the wall. The iron spike before the Court, with which the wall was bored, was found by me in the bath-room near the hole.

GĀRŌḌĪ.

The Gārōḍis are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum District. Their head-quarters are said to be at Miraj near Kolhapur. They are said to have been converted to Muhammadanism about the middle of the sixteenth century, and are looked upon as belonging to the Madārī sect. According to the Bombay Gazetteer,¹ 'the men are middle-sized, sturdy, and dark or olive . . . The women, who like the men are middle-sized, are thin, well-featured, and dark or olive . . . The men are jugglers, tumblers, and snake-charmers. They are hard-working, but are much given to intoxicating drinks and drugs and are poorly clad and scrimped for food . . . Except circumcising their boys they keep no Musalman customs, and are Muhammadans in little more than name.'

The name Gārōḍī or Gārūḍī is derived from *gārūḍa*, a snake-charmer. I have no information as to the number of Gārōḍis in Belgaum.

Two specimens and a list of Standard Words and Sentences have been received from Belgaum as illustrating the dialect of the Gārōḍis. It is a rather inconsistent form of speech, and it seems probable that several of the forms registered in the list are incorrect. Thus the future *lugōḍicōḡō*, shall beat, is stated to be used in both numbers. In the specimens, however, we find *hapeluḡā*, let us become. This latter form most closely agrees with Eastern Rājasthānī. On the whole it will be seen that Gārōḍī is based on a mixture of Hindōstānī, Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī. Thus the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *ō* in the singular as in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, though we also find *rēmūā*, goat, as in Hindōstānī. The plural and the oblique base end in *ā* as in Hindōstānī; compare *lācḡā* (but also *lācḡō*), sons; *bhānūtā-kū*, to a father. The genitive ends in *kō* as in Rājasthānī. Before an inflected masculine noun we also find *kā*. In the periphrastic present we find *lugū hū*, I am dying, as in Mēwātī, Mālvi, and Mēwāri. The past tense of the verb substantive is *chhō* as in Jaipurī; Marāṭhī forms are *mī*, I; *lācḡē*, a child; the common emphatic *ch*, and so on. In addition to all these elements there is also an admixture of Dravidian. It is seen in some words such as *iḡā*, here; *uḡā*, there; *nīrmā*, water; *nānd*, house, village, etc., in the frequent use of adverbial and relative participles such as *hāyilōlō*, when coming; *hāyilāndē*, coming; *bētēsō*, eaten, and so forth.

It would, however, be useless to go into further details. The mixed nature of the dialect will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens.

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōḍis try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are *alḡi*, whip; *bēt*, eat; *bōḡā*, gold; *chisam*, good; *chōnō*, name; *ghamuklō*, belly; *ghikmō*, slave; *dharālī*, iron; *dhāyṭi*, property; *ḡhalicṭnī*, harlot; *ḡḡhāmī*, midnight; *ḡḡhangī*, a bulbous root; *gōnō*, hand; *gōnālī*, foot; *ghuruknā*, swine; *jachan*, diagnose; *kāḡā*, man; *kanēchī*, eye (cf. Tamil *kaṇa*); *khōmḡā*, mouth; *kāḡōsō*, bull; *kāyḡi*, ailment; *lug*, die; *lugā*, beat; *mallā*, garden; *nīmal*, run, loose; *nānd*, house, village; *nāḡhyā*, wife; *nīrmō*, water; *panēchī*, back (cf.

¹ Vol. xii, pp. 224 & f.

Kanarese *bennu*); *tabēt*, health; *ṭap*, fall; *ṭōk*, say; *ṭōlēhō*, head (cf. Kanarese *tale*); *ṭhīg*, sit; *walā*, give, and so on.

Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the letters; thus, *dabō*, big; and perhaps *ṭap*, fall. Occasionally we find aspiration or disaspiration of consonants; thus, *ghāyilē*, they went; *ṭhāṭkanā*, having taken; *nākyō*, threw.

In many cases a consonant has been prefixed or substituted for the initial of a word. *Kh* is used in this way in words such as *khadnī*, man; *khūpar*, above; *khut-kō*, having arisen; *khōyid*=*baid*, doctor. In *gāndilō*, silver, *g* is similarly used instead of *ch*, and in *rēmṇā*, goat, *r* for *m*.

Ch is, as in many similar argots, used instead of *h* in words such as *chulācu*, to call; *chōṭai*, word, state. Note *chirwānd*, bind. In *jilāṭi*, cat, *j* has been used in a similar way, cf. *bilāṭi*. *Dzh* is a more common substitute; compare *dzhichādī*, behind; *dzhukāyit*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *dzhāṭ-kanā*, having gone; *dzhapṭī*, shoe, sandal; *dzhupār*, afternoon (cf. *dō pahār*), and so on. A *t* has been substituted for a *p* in *ṭikad*, seize. The initial *dh* in *ḍhamuklō*, belly; *ḍhikmō*, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable *tur* in *turcālō*, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised *air*, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are *n* in *nētyā-kō*, to the fields; *l* in *lipadā*, cloths; and, cockney way, *h* in *hāyil*, come; *hust*, camel.

Another way of disguising words is by means of additions at the end. Such additions are,—

k in *bhēkdā*, brother; and *g* in *bōngā*, gold; compare, however, Kanarese *baṅgāra*; *ch* in *kanēchī*, eye; *kānēchī*, ear; *chandichī*, moon; *bhānichī*, sister; *nhanchō*, small, etc.;

ṭ in *ghōṛṭō*, horse; *ḍ* in *khagādī*, before; *khōmḍā*, mouth; *dāḍwā*, tooth; *bhēkdā*, brother, etc.;

l in *dzhukāyit*, hunger;

p in *chapēlyō*, was; *hapē-nā*, am not;

m in *ek-mū*, one; *dul-mū*, two; *kitmū*, how many? *bhutmū*, devil; *dēmā*, god; *tōḍmō*, I broke; *thudmō*, few; *karmel*, do; *sunmel-kā*, having heard, etc.

l in *karēlyō*, did; *karmel*, do; *ghalet*, put; *ghāyilē*, went; *chalēlō*, went; *jagāyilyō*, waked; *dzhāyil*, go; *batāl-kā*, dividing; *rakellō*, keep; *sunel-hāyilyō*, hearing came, was heard; *sunnel-kā*, having heard; *hāyilyō*, came; *dulmū*, two, and so forth. Similarly we find *ṭ* in words such as *nachlan*, dancing; *mōklō*, relief.

Finally we find *s* added in *kharsā*, ass.

By means of all these additions the argot of the Gārōḍis gets a peculiar appearance. Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second is an incomplete version of a well-known tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 26.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GĀRŌḌĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekmū kājā-kū dūlmū lāwḍā chhō. Yē-kē mhayi nhanchō lāwḍō
 One man-to two sons were. Them-of among younger son
 āplyō bhāwutē-kā tōkyō, 'bhāwutē, tērō dhāyti-mā-si ma-kū hāyilandē
 own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in-from me-to coming
 bātō ma-kū walā.' Bhāwutō yē-kē mhayi āplyō dhāyti bātāl-kā
 share me-to give.' Father them-of among own property dividing
 walai. Nhanchō lāwḍō āplyō bātō lhail-kanā dūr mulūk-kū
 gave. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 dzhūil-kanā bharkum dīn hoyilē-nā, ō-mā-ch wō dand hō-kanā
 having-gone many days became-not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āplyō dhāyti sab ghalā nākyō. Ō hē karēlētō wā
 own property all throwing was-lost. He so doing that
 mulūk-ma dabi dzhānjli tap-kā ō-kū wanwās hāyilyō. Ō
 country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty became. He
 wā dēs-kā ekmū khadmī kan tsākri rhapēlyō; ē khadmī
 that country-of one man near in-service remained; that man
 ō-kū ghuruknā charāpē-kū nētyā-kū lagā-dhailyō. Ungā dzhukāyit-si
 him alone feeding-for fields-to was-sent. There hunger-from
 kalmal hoyil-kan ghuruknā hētēsō hūssō hī bēt-kō
 exhausted having-become swine eaten husks even having-eaten
 dhamuklō bharlē-chhō, lēkhin ō-kū koyi-kan-si kujī-ch milēchh-nā.
 belly filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything-even was-got-not.
 Aīsō thudmē dīn ghāyilē, āplyō dzhichali chōlāi yād hō-kanā
 So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ō āplyō man-ma tōkyō, 'mērē bhāwutē-kanā chhōtō kitmū
 he own mind-in said, 'my father-near being how-many
 tsākriwālā-kū dhamuklā bhar-kā jāsti bētnī mil-chhī; mī-tō-
 servants-to bellies having-filled more food got-is; I-on-the-other-
 hī ungā dzhukāyit-si lagū-hū. Mi khuṭ-kō-nā mērō bhāwutē-kanā
 hand here hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-near
 dzhūyil-kō tōkyō, "bhāwutē, mī dēmā-kā pāp bhāwutē-kā pāp
 having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of sin father-of sin

chirwānd-kā liyō. Mi tērō lāwdō kar-kō tōknē-kā chisam
having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said saying-for fit
 hape-nā. Ma-kū tērō-kanā ekmū naukar-wāni rakhel-lē." ' Aśō
am-not. He of-thee-near one servant-like keep." So
 tōk-kanā uṅgā-si khut-kanā āplyō bhāwutē-kanā hāyilyōtō bhāwutō
having-said there-from having-arisen own father-near came-when father
 dūr-si ō-kū ehareh-kanā mayā hāyil-kanā nimal-kā dzhāyil-kanā
far-from him having-seen pity having-come having-run having-gone
 tikaḍ-kanā chummī wolhyā. Tab lāwdō bhāwutē-kā tōkyō,
having-embraced kiss was-given. Then son father-to said,
 'bhāwutē, mī tērē khagāḍi dēmā-kō khagāḍi chūk karēlyō. Tū
'father, by-me of-thee before God-of before sin was-done. Thou
 ma-kū tērō lāwdō kar-kā chulāwu hape-nā.' Ō-kī bhāwutō
me thy son having-made to-call is-not.' This-to father
 āplyō naukar-kū tōkyō. 'chisam lipaḍā hāyil-kanā mērē lāwdō-kū walāw;
own servants-to said, 'best robe having-taken my son-to give;
 gōnē-ma khaṅgi ghalel, gōnāli-ma dzhayappli ghalel; bētnī tayari
finger-on ring put, fest-on shoes put; dinner preparation
 karmel; ham bēt-kanā khuṣi hapelungā; kaikētō yē wērō lāwdō
make; we having-eaten merry shall-become; because this my son
 lug ghailyō ehō, phir-kanā dam hāyilyō; nimal ghailyō ehō-sō,
dead gone was, again life came; lost gone being,
 milyō.' Yō sunel-kanā sab khaṁmī khuṣi hapellyō.
was-found.' This having-heard all men glad became.

Yā bakhat-kū ō-kē ḍabō lāwdō nētyā-ma ehō. Ō nānd-kanā
This time his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 hāyilētō ō-kū gīd haur nachlan sunel hāyilyō. Ō
coming-when him-to song and dancing to-hear came. He
 tsākriwālē-ma ekmū-kū chulā-kan, 'yō kē hapel?' Aśō tōkyō.
servants-among one-to having-called, 'this what is?' so said.
 Ō-kū wa-nā tōkyō, 'tērō bhēkḍā hāyilyō hāyī, ē chisam-si
Him-to him-by it-was-said, 'thy brother come is, he well
 hāyilē kar-kā tērō bhāwutē-nā bētnī karēli hāyī.' Itmu
came having-said thy father-by dinner made is.' This
 sunel-kanā wā ḍabā lāwdō ghusi-kū hāyil-kū mhayi ghailē-nā.
having-heard that elder son unger-to having-come inside went-not.
 Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē bhāwutē-nā bhāyir hāyil-kanā, 'mhayī-hāyil,
That-of for-the-sake his father-by outside having-come, 'inside-come!
 kar-kā tā-kū bharkum ajji karēlyō. Ō-kī ō āplyō
having-said him-to much entreaty was-made. That-to he own

bhāwutē-ki tōkyō, 'mī itmā baras tak tēri tsākri karel-kanā
father-to said, 'I so-many years up-to thy service having-done
 tēri chōlpi kabī tōdmē-nā. Lēkhin mī mērō dōs-kū lhail-kanā
thy word ever broke-not. But I my friends having-taken
 bētnī karelnē-kē wāstē tū kabī ma-kū ekmā rēmnā-bi
dinner making-of for-the-sake thou ever me-to one kid-even
 walāy-nā. Džhalwātnī-kā saṅgat karel-kanā tērō dhāyti sab
gavest-not. Harlots-of company having-made thy property all
 nīngal-liyōsō yō tērō lāwdō nānd-kū bāyilyō barābar tū ō-kē
devouring-taking this thy son house-to came immediately thou him-of
 wāstē bētnī karēlyō.' Bhāwutē-nā lāwdō-kē tōkyō, 'tū
for-the-sake dinner modest.' Father-by son-to it-was-said, 'thou
 har-gadi mērō saṅgat rhaṇelā; mērō-kan hapēlāsō sab tērō-ch
all-time of-me in-company art; of-me-near being all thine-alone
 hāyil. Luggōsō tērō bhēkdā, phir-kā dam bharēlyō; nimal ghāilyō
is. Dead-being thy brother, again life filled; lost gone
 chhōsō, milēlyō. Aisō ham khuṣī hōyilnē-kē chisam hapelā.
being, was-found. So we happy to-become good is.'

[No. 27.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GAROPL

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ajar dzhāyilnē-kē bhōlō upāw. Ekmā nānd-ma ekmā dhabō
Indigestion going-of simple remedy. One town-in one big
 kājā chhō. Ō har-gaḍi bharkum bāt-kanā thigyāsō jāgū-pa thigyō
man was. He every-time much having-eaten sitting place-in sitting
 chhō. Kāusē-ch tarā-si kaishu karē chha-nā. Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē
was. Any-even kind-of labour doing was-not. That-of for-the-sake his
 āng-ma kabā-tō hī sustī hāyil-chhī. Ekmā dīn ō kājā
body-in sometimes also indisposition coming-was. One day that man
 āplyō dōs-kē nānd-kū bēlnē-kū ghailyō chhō. Ūngā bharkum bēt-
own friend-of house-to eating-for gone was. There much having-
 kanā dzhāmī-tak jagāyilyō. Ō-kī wāstē sakāl ō-kā
eaten midnight-till waked. That-of on-account next-morning him-to
 bharkum ajar hō-gaili. Ō baklat-kū ō tabēi charch-kanā hāyil
great indigestion became. That time-at he health having-examined come
 kar-kā gāḍi-kē khūpar chad-kan khōyid-kē nānd-kū ghailyō.
having-said carriage-of upon having-mounted doctor-of village-to went.
 Khōyid-nā ō-kē gōnō charch-kanā kāyli-kī jachan karē-kanā
Doctor-by his hand having-examined disease-of examination having-made
 tōkyō. 'bāwā. īngā-si dūlmū kōs-pa ekmā mallē-ma yā kāyli-kū
said, 'Sir, here-from two kōs-in one garden-in this disease-for
 wālānē-kī dzhangī hapelā. Khūki-sē ūngā-tak hāyiltō ō khupad-kan
giving-of bulb is. Kindly there-to come-if that having-rooted-up
 wālāñ. Ō-kī wāstē dzhūpār-kē mhayi tērē kāyli dzhāyil-kē
I-may-give. That-of on-account afternoon-of in thy disease having-gone
 mōklō hapēlaṅgō. Itmū sunmel-kā kājā-nā tōkyō. 'mērō
relief will-become. This-much having-heard man-by it-was-said, 'my
 gāḍi tayār hōyil-kā chhapeli. Hāyil, ūngā-tak dzhāyil-kanā
carriage ready having-become stands. Come, there-to having-gone
 hāyilānā. Itmū tōk-kanā, ō wā khōyid-kē barābar gāḍi-ma
let-us-come. This-much having-said, he that doctor-of with carriage-on

chad-kan chālélē. Nānd-kanā-sī dūlmū kōs dzhāyil-kanā ichōyid-nā
having-mounted went. House-near-from two kōs having-gone doctor-by
 gōnē-mā-ki aljī hōnūkar-kā tamā nakhil diyō.
hand-in-of whip intentionally down throwing was-given.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A simple remedy for indigestion.

There lived in a town a rich man who always ate much and was given to sedentary habits. He took no kind of exercise, and therefore he now and then suffered from indisposition. One day he went to dine with a friend. He ate a lot and stayed up till midnight. Consequently he had a bad fit of indigestion the next morning. Therefore he drove over to the doctor's to have his disease diagnosed. The doctor felt his pulse, diagnosed his disease and said, 'in a garden about two *kōs* from here there is a bulbous root which is a specific for your disease. If you please, follow me there, and I shall have it dug out. Then your ailment will cease in the afternoon and you will get relief.' Hearing this the man said, 'my carriage is ready, come, let us go there.' After having said so he drove along in company with the doctor. When they had gone on about two *kōs* from the town, the doctor intentionally dropped the whip.

MYĀNWĀLĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

The word *Myānwālā* means a scabbard-maker. No information is available about the people who bear the name. Specimens of their dialect have been forwarded from the Belgaum District. The names given to this form of speech is *Myānwālā* or *Lhārī*. *Myānwālā* is simply the plural form of *Myānwālā*. *Lhārī* probably represents a rapid pronunciation of *Lohārī*, the language of the *Lohārs*. At the last Census of 1911, 817 *Lohārs* were enumerated in Belgaum. It is not, however, probable that the so-called *Myānwālā* is the language of all the *Lohārs*; it is probably only spoken by a small section.

The base of *Myānwālā* is *Dakhanī Hindostānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Thus, strong masculine bases end in *ō* in the singular as in the latter, and in *ē* in the plural as in the former. The distinction between singular and plural forms is, to judge from the conjugation, of little importance; compare *lōtūngō*, he will beat, they will beat. Forms such as *hōtūcādyā*, they went, show that the termination *ē* is not the only one in the plural of strong bases; the *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī* termination *ā* must be used as well. Of case terminations we may note dative *kā* as in *Mālvī* and *Dakhanī Hindostānī*, genitive *kō* as in *Mālvī* or *kā* as in *Hindostānī*; and locative *mē* as in *Mālvī* and *Hindostānī*, or *mā*, cf. *Gujarātī mā*. There does not appear to exist a separate case of the agent, the nominative being used to denote the subject even if the verb is the past tense of a transitive.

"I" is *mē* as in *Bundēli*, and "we" is *hamē*, cf. *Gujarātī amē*.

The conjugation of verbs does not appear to be correctly represented in the list of words, where we find forms such as *kā* for all persons and numbers of the present tense of the verb substantive and *lōtō* for the corresponding forms of *lōt-pā*, to beat. Forms such as *lug-nalō*, dying go, I die; *chōkō*, thou art; *hōbrē*, is, show that the present tense is formed like the old present in *Mālvī*. The past tense ends in *ō* or *yō*; thus, *chōhēcādyō*, said; *lōtō*, struck. The future is formed as in *Hindostānī* but with the singular ending in *gō* as in Eastern *Rājasthānī*; thus, *chāuāngō*, I shall be; *hōbraāngē*, we shall become. In the list of words forms such as *lōtūngō*, I shall beat, are used in all persons and numbers.

Other forms mainly agree with *Hindostānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Note the relative participle in *ō*, as in *dufōō*, eaten; *hōbrōō*, being; the use of *kurke*, *karkō*, having done, corresponding to the Sanskrit *itī*; and the negative *jīn* in *chulācō jīn*, do not call; for the last, compare *Kanaujī* and Eastern *Hindī*.

Myānwālā is, to judge from the specimens, an artificial argot built up on this base. There are some peculiar words such as *hāmcāf*, come; *bēt*, take; *ohhēgē*, preparation; *chānmas*, see; *chīgīf*, run; *chōyī*, water; *chundaṣī*, ring; *damōlō*, man; *ḍāmī*, woman; *duf*, eat; *gēlō*, *gēlpō*, boy; *jukālō*, dog; *kichī*, fire; *khīch*, give; *khōk*, house; *lugāpā*, to break; *lugīf*, die; *lōt*, strike; *nānd*, village; *nīcō*, good; *nōkūlō*, name; *rhākhlō*, brother. Some of these such as the base *hara*, to come; *nānd*, village (*Kanarese nāṇṇu*), seem to be Dravidian. Others are comparable with similar words in other argots.

Ordinary Aryan words are, moreover, disguised in various ways so as to make them unintelligible to outsiders. Sometimes a vowel is changed or an aspirated consonant disaspirated; compare *pēṣō*=*pāṣ*, near; *nuchō*=*pūchhā*, asked; *ripchē*=*pichhē*, behind. More commonly an initial consonant is changed or a consonant prefixed.

K is substituted in *hurgā*, swine; compare *sūār*.

Kh has been prefixed in words such as *khādmī*, man; *khagādi*, before; *khāpāō*, own; *khutnē-mē*, in the meantime; *khēk*, one; *khidēw*, god; *khīraṇṇ*, harlot. In *khulke*, having ssid, it has replaced an old *ō*, and so on.

A *g* has been substituted for other initials in *gipaḷā* = *kaprā*, clothes; and perhaps in *gālō*, boy, cf. *bētā*.

As in similar argots *ch* and *chh* are often substituted for labials. Compare *chaḍḍō* = *baṇā*, big; *chōnd* = *bāndh*, tying; *chhīl* = *bhar*, filling; *chhuk* = *bhūkh*, hunger; *chhurgā* = *murgū*, cock.

Dh is prefixed as in similar argots; compare *dhākō* = *kākā*, uncle; *dhimlē* = *mīlā*, was got; *dhunabī* = *kupbī*, a cultivator; *dhētyā*, compare *bhērā*, a kid.

N is a very common substitute. It replaces a guttural in *nusāl*, merry; *narībī*, poverty; *nusā*, angry; a palatal in *nākar*, servant; *nūk*, sin; a dental in *nōs*, friend; a labial in *noḍ-ke*, falling; *nāp*, sin; *nir-ku*, again; *nirāw*, put on; *nirādē* (*firyādi*), complainant; *narābor*, immediately; *nāt*, state; *naras*, year; *nīlar*, inside; *nas*, mind; an *h* in *nakhikat*, facts. It has been substituted for an *s* in *nabaḷo*, all; compare *sab* and *sagla*. Instead of *s*, however, we more commonly find *nh*; thus, *nhankaf*, difficulty; *nhun-ke*, hearing; *nhuriyā*, sun. *Nh* is also used as a substitute for aspirated consonants in *nhōt*, field; *nhūs*, chaff; *nhōknō*, small.

B has been substituted for *l* in *bētō*, took; and for *s* in *buṇakke*, to be heard (note the Dravidian termination). A *b* has been replaced by an *m* in *māwutō*, father, probably under the influence of *māwutī*, mother.

R is also a common substitute, especially for labials; thus, *rīkan*, ear; *rāḷō*, share; *rāl*, hair; *ripchē* = *picchō*, behind; *rhāklō* = *bhāi*, brother; *chār*, outside. *Rhāklō*, brother, is, however, perhaps connected with the European Gipsy word *rāklō*, boy.

Another device of disguising words is by means of various additions at the end, which then often replace an old final.

Thus a *k* is added in *rhōkē*, art; *niskō*, head; and a *kn* in *phōkūō* = *chhōfā*, small. If *rhāklō*, brother, is derived from *bhāi*, a *kī* has been added.

An additional *g* occurs in words such as *chōg*, four; *dāg*, far; *dōg*, two, and so on. A *ch* is used in a similar way in words such as *kichō*, did; *phōḍchō*, horse.

An addition *ī* is used in some intransitive verbs; thus, *chīgīī*, run; *nukīīō*, lost; *barīīō*, came; *lugīīō*, dead. A *ḍ* is added in *khagādi*, before. I may here add the suffixes *ōḍ* and *acāḍ* in verbal forms such as *natōḍ*, dividing; *rakhōḍ*, keeping; *ghalōḍ*, put; *baracāḍī*, she came; *rhōkūōḍō*, stayed; *hīḷwāḍyā*, they passed.

A *t* has been added in words such as *bēt*, take; *māwutō*, father, etc. The *p* in *geipō* = *gālō*, boy, must be a similar addition.

An *l* or *ī* is apparently added or substituted for another final in words such as *gālō* = *bātā* (?), boy; *dhētyā*, kid; compare *bhērā*, ram; *chhīl* = *bhar* (?), filling; *kōl* = *kar*, doing (compare Sāsī *kūl*); *gawālō*, singing, and so on.

The *bar* in *bōbar-ke*, having been, and so on, is probably a similar addition.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179B.

[No. 28.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYÂN WALE or LHÂRI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khêk damôlô-kû dōg gelpê hî. Wā-mô nhôknô gelpô
One man-to two sons were, Them-among younger son
 khâppô mawutô-kû khulwadyô, 'māwutô, tērô jingāni-mô mā-kû barôsô
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming
 râtô mā-kû khîch.' Māwutô wā-mô khâppô jingāni natôd-bêtô.
share me-to give.' Father them-among own property divided.
 Nhôknô gelpô khâppô râtô bêt-ke dūg mulūk-kû hit-ke chhôt
Younger son own share having-taken for country-to having-gone many
 dîn nāi hōbrê khutnê-mô ū dund hō-bar-ke khâppô jingāni
days not became this-much-in he riotous having-become own property
 nabaļô narab kôl kichî. Ū wāsarô kôli khūjar wā
all evil doing was-done, He so having-done after that
 dēs-mā chaqđô dakāļ naq-ke wā-kû naribî barawāđi. Ū wā
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that
 dēs-kā khêk damôlô khurê nākri rhôkwāđô. Ê damôlô wā-kā
country-of one man near in-service remained This man him
 kurnā narāgê-kû khâppô nhêt-ku nhandā-kichô. Utthā chhukê-sî
swine grazing-for own field-to sent. There hunger-from
 nhankat hōbar-ke kurnā dutôsô nhūs-bî dut-ke rēpat chhil
pangs having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly full
 bêtô-tô, lêkin wā-kū kun-kô pēsô-sô kuch-bî nāi dhimlô.
taking-was, but him-to anybody-of near-from anything-even not was-got.
 Yēsô thokê dîn hitwādyā, khâppô ripchali nāt yād hōbar-ke
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ū khâppô nan-mā khulwāđô, 'mērô māwutô pēsô hōbrêsô chhôt
he own mind-in said, 'my father near being many
 nākar-kū rēpat chhil-ke jāstî dūtan dhimlô; mō hyā chhukê-sî
servants-to belly having-filled more food is-got; I here hunger-from
 lugnalô. Mē khutwāđ-ke mērô māwutê-kô pēsô hit-ke chhōtwādyô.
am-dying. I having-arisen my father-of near having-gone said,

"māwutō, mē Khidēw-kā nāp māwutō-kā nāp chōnd hētō. Mē tērō
"father, I God-of sin father-of sin tying took. I thy
 gelpō kar-kō kēpē hētapē-kū lāyakh nāī. Ma-kū khēk nākarī sarik
son saying saying taking-for worthy not. Me one servant like
 tērō pēsō rakhōđ bēt." ' Yātrī khul-ke whā-sī khut-ke
of-thee near keeping take." ' So having-said there-from having-arisen
 khāpnō māwutō-kō pēsō baratē-kō māwutō wā-kū dūg-sē chhumap-ke
own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen
 mayā bar-ke chigit-hit-ke chithī lōtke chummā bāt-wāđō.
pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck kiss took.
 Tab gelpō māwutō-kū chihōlō, 'māwutē, mē tērō khagāđi Khidēw-kā
Then son father-to said, 'father, I of-thee before God-of
 khagāđi nūk kōl-wāđi. Ma-kū tērō gelpō kar-kū chulāvē
before sin did. Me thy servant having-said should-be-called
 jīn.' Wā-sē māwutō khāpnō nākar-kū khulwāđyō, 'nīrō gipadā
not.' That-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 bēt-ke mērō gelpō-kū nīrāw; khāngli-mē chundāđi ghalōđ, gōpē-mē
having-taken my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put, feet-on
 jōđakhā ghalōđ; dātnō-kū chhōgē kōlō. Hamē dūt-ke nūsal
shoes put; eating-for preparation make. We having-eaten merry
 hōbraṅgē; kā-chōlē-tō yō mērō gelpō lugitō-tō, nīrka jik barō;
shall-become; ichy-say-then this my son dead-was, again life came;
 nukitō-hityāsō, dhimlō.' Yō nhupke nablō nūsi hōbrē.
lost-gone, was-found.' This having-heard all glad became.

Yō bakhat-kū wā-kō chadđō gelpō nhēt-mē hōbrō. Ū khōk-kē
This time-at his big son field-in was. He house-of
 pēsō barawāđō, tab wā-kū gawajnō nachaunnō hupakke barō. Yē
near came, then him-to singing dancing to-be-heard came. These
 nākar-mē khōk-kā chōl-ke, 'kā nālī hōbrē?' nuchawāđyō.
servants-among one having-called, 'what going-on is?' asked.
 Wā-kū wā-nē khulwāđō, 'tērō rhāklo barawāđō; ū nīrō barko
Him-to him-by it-was-said, 'thy brother came; he well having-come
 dhimlō. Wā-kē khāw-sē tērō māwutō dūtnō kōlō.' Ō
was-met. That-of reason-from thy father feast made.' That
 bun-ke wā-kō chadđō gelpō nusa hōbar-ke nītar hitō nāī.
having-heard his big son angry having-become inside went not.
 Wā-kē khāw-sē wā-kō māwutō rhār barke, 'nītar barawāđ,
That-of reason-from his father outside having-come, 'inside come,'
 kar-ke wā-kū chhōt khulō. Ū khāpnō māwutō-kū khulwāđō, 'mē
having-said him-to much said. He own father-to said, 'I

itnē naras tallakh tērō nākri kōl-ke kabī tērō rhāyadī
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy word
 lūgai nāī. Nir-ke mē mērō nōs-kū dhimalā-lē-kē dūtan kōlnē-kō
broke not. But I my friends having-gathered feast making-of
 khāw-sē tū ma-kū kbēk dhilyā bī kabī nāī khichō. Nir-tū
reason-from thou me-to one kid even ever not gavest. But
 khirāṇḍ-kā naṅgāt-mē naḍ-ke tērō jingānī nab nīngā-bētōsō
harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy property all devoured-having
 yē tērō gelpō khōk-kū harē narābar tū wā-kē khāw-sē dūtan
this thy son house-to coming as-son-as thou his sake-for feast
 kōl bētētō. Māwutō gelpō-kū chhōlwādō, 'tū nabajē dūn
making given-hast. Father son-to said, 'thou all dogs
 mērō hyā rhōkē. Mērō pēsō hōbrēsō nab tērō-ch. Lūgītōsō tērō
of-me near art. Me-of near being all thine. Dead-being thy
 rhākjō, nirkū jik haritō; nukitō hityāsō, dhimlō. Yēsō hamē nāī
brother, again life came; lost gone, was-found. So we merry
 hōbarkū narābar hōbrē.
to-become proper is.

[No. 29.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYANWALE OR LHARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khêk nand-mê dōg chōngmē chhōt nōs hōbrō. Khêk dīn
One village-in two beggars much friends were. One day
 dōgū dhimal-kē nar-dēs-kū hīt-kē khāw-sē nichār
both having-come-together other-country-to going-of sake-for thinking
 kōl-ke khāpū pēsō hōbrēsō thōkō lōkō khêk khiswāsūk
having-made self near being little money one honest
 chhudīkī-kō nābē-mē khich-ke, 'hamē dōgū dhimal-kē
old-woman-of possession-in having-given, 'we both having-come-together
 chōngkū barō-tō yō ham-kū khichawād, yēsō chōl-ke nīmal hītē.
asking-for come-if this us-to give, so having-said away went.
 Khagādī thōkō dīn-kē khūpar wā-mē-sē khēklā nīr-ke wā
Then few days-of upon them-in-of one having-retained that
 chhudīkī-kō pēsō hīt-ke, 'māwūtī, mērō nōs rāt-mel lugītō;
old-woman-of near having-gone, 'mother, my friend road-on died:
 wā-kī khāw-sē hamārō lōkō khichawād, yēsō khulwādō. I chhōt
that of sake-for our money give, so said. She many
 nabab khulwādī, lēkin ū buṅkō nāī. Nhōwātī i wā lōkō
excuses said, but he heard not. At-last she that money
 wā-kū khichō. Thōkō dīn-kē khūpar dukarō wā chhudīkī pēsō
him-to gave. Few days-of upon the-second that old-woman near
 bar-ke nēt chōngwādī. Tab wā chhudīkī, 'rhākō, thōkō
having-come purse demanded. Then that old-woman, 'brother, few
 dīn-kā ripchē tērō nōs bar-ke, tā lugītō, yēsō chōl-ke
days-of behind thy friend having-come, thou diedst, so having-said
 lōkō chōngwādē. Wā-sē, "tūm dōgū dhimal-ke barawād,"
money demanded. Him-to, "you both having-come-together come,"
 yēsō chhōt chōlwādō. Ū mērō rhāyādī nāī buṅ-ke nūlam-sē
so much said. He my word not having-heard force-with
 nah lōkō bētētō. Wā-sē ū narkār-kō pēsō nīrādē
all money took-away. That-from he government-of near complainant

hiñ. Tab narkār wā chhudikī-kū chulā-kū bēt-kū nabañi
 went. Then government that old-woman summoning-for having-given all
 nakhikat nuchō.
 facts asked.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived two beggars who were intimate friends. One day they thought of going together to a foreign country. They entrusted whatever little money they possessed to an honest old woman, requesting her to return it if they both came jointly to ask for it, and went away. A few days after one of them came back to the old woman and said, 'mother, my friend died on the road; therefore give my money to me.' She made many excuses, but he would not listen, and at last she returned the money to him.

Some days afterwards the other one came to the old woman and asked for the deposit. Then the old woman said, 'brother, a few days back thy friend came, said that you had died, and asked for the money. I remonstrated with him that you two would have to come together, but he did not heed my word and forcibly took the money from me.'

He then lodged a complaint before a judge. The judge summoned the old woman and ascertained all the facts.

KANJARĪ.

The name Kanjar is used to denote an aggregate of vagrant tribes. Mr. W. Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, states that they are probably of Dravidian origin. He further remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sānsiya, Hābūra, Beriya Bhatu, and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjāra, Baheliya.'

Many of them live in the forests, 'where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. The arts of the Kanjars are making mats of the *sirkā* reed, baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw. From the stalks of the *mūnj* grass and from the roots of the *palāśa* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *śalmālī* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers; others live in towns and make door screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.'

No satisfactory explanation of the word Kanjar has as yet been given. It has been derived from Sanskrit *kānanachara*, wanderer in the jungle, but this etymology is hardly possible from a philological point of view. It is more likely that *kanjar* is a shorter form of the word *kājarō* or *kājarō*, man, which is used by many Kanjars, and which is related to Sāsi *kajjā*, Naṭi *kājā* and Dōm *kājucā*. We do not know whether this word is Aryan or not. It is probably identical with Romani *gājō*.

The Kanjars are most numerous in the United Provinces in which, according to the Census of 1911, they numbered 18,345. Elsewhere there were 5,638, giving a total of 23,983.

The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindōstānī. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in *ā*; thus, *garā-sē*, to the neck (Aligarh); *garā-mā*, on the neck (Etawah). Similarly the oblique plural ends in *ā* or *ā̃*; thus, *naukar-chakrā-sē*, to the servants (Aligarh); *varā-sē*, years from (Sitapur); *naukrā-ku*, to the servants (Belgaum). Such forms agree with Marāṭhī, the singular ones also with Bihārī and the plural ones with Rājasthānī.

An *ō* is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form; thus, *riḥō-kē*, of the house (Aligarh, Sitapur); *bihārō-mē*, in the property (Etawah); *dāmō-dē*, of value (Farrukhabad); *bāpō-nē*, by the father (Belgaum). This *ō* is different from the final *ō* of strong masculine bases, which becomes *ā* in the oblique form and in the plural; thus, *chūbhō*, son; *chūbhā*, sons; *bāphōlā-sē*, to the father, in the Sitapur specimens and similar forms in the materials forwarded from the other districts. Ordinary Hindōstānī forms are used as well. The Rājasthānī affinities acquire some significance if we remember that we find a similar state of affairs in other argots such as Dōm, Naṭi and Sāsī.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindōstānī. The dative suffix *ku*, *kū*, *kō* also reminds us of Dravidian. The ablative suffix is commonly *sē*, in Farrukhabad, however, also *sū* as in Mārwarī, Jaipurī and Mālyī. In Belgaum we find *dē*, from, which perhaps has something to do with the genitive suffix *dā*, *dī*, which is used in addition to *kā*, *kī*, in Farrukhabad. It will be seen that this latter suffix is identical with the Pañjābī one. It is, however, possible that it has something to do with Tamil *uḍaiya*, Kanarese *da*.¹

In many of the specimens we will find that the final *ō* of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun; thus, *khachchhō najaū-kū*, to a good man (Sitapur); *āchhō bāpō-nē*, by the younger son (Etawah); *apuō kaurī paisā*, his money (Farrukhabad); *tēro naukrī*, thy service (Belgaum). Such instances point to the conclusion that the sense of gender is weak and that adjectives are not inflected, a state of affairs which would be natural if the Kanjars were not originally Aryans.

With regard to pronouns we may note the use of the base *jō*, *jī*, as a demonstrative pronoun, just as is the case in Rājasthānī, and, further, the curious forms *urō-nē*, by him (Aligarh); *urō-kā*, his (Etawah); *igal*, this matter; *kēgal*, what matter (Farrukhabad); *ūr*, *birō*, he; *urō-kō*, his (Sitapur); *yō*, thou; *yurō-ku*, *urō-ku*, to thee; *urō-ku*, to him. These and similar forms remind us of Dravidian; compare Tulu *ēr*, Kul and Old Telugu *iru*, you; Tamil Kanarese *avar* Gōṇḍī *ōr*, he, etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus an *r* is frequently suffixed; compare *hubbār rai-r-ī*, is going on (Aligarh); *lugai-r-ō*, he beats (Sitapur); *rak-r-ō*, he remained (Aligarh); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *sun-r-ō*, he heard (Etawah); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *lugai-r-ō̃*, I had beaten (Sitapur); *ku-r-ō*, I struck; *gaug-r-ō*, I went; *dusā-r-ō*, I said; *hu-r-ō*, I became (Belgaum). This *r* is sometimes followed by the termina-

¹ Compare, however, the Western Pahārī ablative postposition *dē*, which is certainly Indo-Aryan.

tion *s* of the past; thus, *kai-r-s*, did; *śaid*; *kā-r-s*, ate; *pi-r-s*, drank; *kari-gu-r-sē*, having done wentest, hast done, etc. (Aligarh).¹

Often the syllable *wār* or *bār* is added; compare Myānwālē *wāf*, Dōm *uar*. Thus, *baṭ-wār*, dividing; *jībār-ō*, came to life (Sitapur); *sun-wār-ko*, having heard; *kar-wār-ō*, hast made (Belgaum); *baṭ-bār*, having divided; *li-bbār-kē*, having taken; *ra-bbār-ō*, wast (Aligarh), and so forth. In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find *wād* instead of *wār*; thus, *mīl-wād-ō hē*, *mīl-wād-dō*, and *mīl-wār-ō*, he is found; *tuḍ-wād-ō*, broke; *puḍ-wād-ko*, having fallen, and so forth. It seems probable that we should compare the Mārwarī termination *rō*, which is so frequently added pleonastically. We may also compare the causal terminations Mārwarī *wāw*, Jaipuri *ād*, Gujarātī *āw*, *ād*. Forms such as *khaṇḍō karwārō hai*, thou hast made a feast; *charwārō*, grazing; *bandwār līnō*, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals. In most cases, however, the addition of *wār* does not seem to affect the meaning.

This use of added *r*, *wār*, *bār* is accordingly perhaps another point in which Kanjarī agrees with Rājasthānī. Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in that form of speech. In the past tense, however, the termination is *ō* and not *yō*; compare *karō*, did; *lagō*, began (Etawah). Forms such as *dinō*, gave; *līnō*, took, are well known from Mārwarī and Jaipuri. The *l* in *manālō*, entreated (Aligarh); *pūchhlō*, asked (Etawah), may be comparable, or else it may be another form of the *r* mentioned above. The *s* which occurs in several forms such as *dis*, gave; *lis*, took; *sunigulis*, heard; *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh); *līnhis*, took; *dinīs*, gave (Etawah); *lakhāis*, said; *riūchhis*, asked; *kaughis*, said (Sitapur), on the other hand, belongs to Eastern Hindī. Such forms are especially common in the Sitapur specimen, and the prevailing language in Sitapur is Awadhī. They are not met with in the Belgaum texts.

In the future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Compare *kahsā*, I will say; *kacūgasā*, we will do (Aligarh); *lakhāwsā*, I will say; *lugaoghasi*, thou wilt beat, he will beat (Sitapur); *kuggō*, it will be; *jāwāgā*, I shall go (Farrukhabad); *hōwūngā*, I shall be; *kuṭuūngō*, I shall beat (Belgaum). Similar forms are found in Mārwarī, but more properly belong to Eastern Rājasthānī. In Etawah we find forms such as *jāuḍ*, I shall go; *kahḍ*, I shall say. They may be compared with the Jaipuri forms ending in *lō*. Compare also Naipālī.

So far as we have seen hitherto Kanjarī conjugation broadly agrees with Rājasthānī, especially Eastern Rājasthānī. Another feature seems to point in a different direction. Kanjarī seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is *d*. Compare *tīdō*, giving; *angadō*, coming; *jangadō*, *jādō*, gone (Aligarh); *maddō*, dying; *kaddō*, doing; *rahāndō-mē*, among the inhabitants (Etawah); *lugaḍdō*, beating; *janghadō*, going (Sitapur); *hōndō*, being; *nikhardō*, going; *uwardō*, coming; *margḍdō*, dead (Belgaum). It will be seen that such forms are used as present and also as past participles. They are also contained in verbal forms. Some of these belong to present

¹ The termination *rō* may also be a contraction of *ruḥō* and *re* of *ruḥē*, both meaning 'was,' and the latter being the Awadhī form. In many dialects, especially in Western Pakhāri, this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense. Thus *drō* may be for *dr-ruḥō*, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, *ruḥō* is the 'sister' of *hōndō*.—G. A. U.

time; thus, *chalgudañ*, I go; *dūtdaē*, they eat (Aligarh); *lagdañ*, I die; *aughadō*, he is coming (Sitapur); *maradū*, I die; *dēndū*, I give; *āndū*, I come; *nikhardaī*, we, you, they go (Belgaum). Others have the meaning of past tenses. Compare *handō*, was (Aligarh); *jāddō*, was sent (Etawah); *āndā*, came; *kaiadā*, said (Farrukhabad); *hūdō*, was; *lugaōddō*, struck (Sitapur); *handō*, was; *bharicār-lēndō*, would have filled; *gaicāndē-gaudō*, was lost (Belgaum).

It would be possible to compare the suffix *ndō* of the present participle of Sindhi and Naipali. The fact, however, that these forms are also used in the past perhaps points in a different direction. It will be seen from my remarks on page 296 of Volume IV of this Survey that there is a *d*-suffix which forms the indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages, and that one of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is *ndu*. We have already found other possible traces of a Dravidian substratum in Kanjarī, and the *d*-suffix may be of the same kind. In this connexion I may also mention the verbal suffixes *ir* and *gir* in forms such as *lagirō*, began (Aligarh, Etawah, Sitapur); *āgōgirō*, came; *augirō*, came; *gaigirō*, went; *lugaighirō*, I have beaten; *jaoghīrō*, went (Belgaum), and so on, which look like compounds with the Dravidian *iru*, is; *kiri*, am. The *r*-suffix mentioned above may have a similar origin. The extensive use of relative participles and the apparent tendency to form a negative verb in Belgaum is of less significance, because the predominant language of the district is Kanarese.

The facts drawn attention to above show that the dialect of the Kanjars is a mixed form of speech, and that the most important ingredient is Eastern Rājasthānī. Some characteristics point to the conclusion that there is, besides, a certain Dravidian element. If anything can be inferred from this state of affairs about the original home of the Kanjars, it would be that they lived somewhere in Eastern Rajasthan or Central India. At the present day we find Gōṇḍ dialects spoken in Bhopal, and there can be no doubt that Dravidian forms of speech once extended farther to the west. It must, however, be remembered that the speech of a vagrant tribe like the Kanjars at the present day can hardly show where their original home is, but only, at the utmost, that they have come into contact with those languages which can be traced in their own speech.

Kanjarī contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are *lug*, die; *lugai*, beat (Sitapur); *chūbōkō*, son (Aligarh and Sitapur); *ṣipai*, bread (Aligarh and Sitapur); *jhūkil*, dog (Sitapur); *dūt*, eat (Aligarh and Sitapur); *thūr*, eat (Belgaum); *jhurai*, fire (Sitapur); *gaṇḍālē*, loot (Belgaum); *gurārō*, foot (Aligarh and Sitapur); *tiūr*, give (Sitapur); *kidō*, give (Belgaum); *riō*, house (Aligarh and Sitapur); *nandō*, house (Belgaum); *kājarō*, man (Etawah); *kājarō*, man (Belgaum); *najañ*, man (Sitapur); *tig*, see (Aligarh and Sitapur); *nīmānī*, water (Sitapur); *nīcānī*, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare *pādō*, bull; *ācarō*, comes; *kidō*, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil *māḍu*, bull; *vāra*, come; *koḍu*, give, respectively, and *tiūr*, give (Sitapur), with Tamil *tara*, give. Mr. Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as *dhimrī*, bread; *ghamēlā*, sun; *khainch*, thief; *khuth*,

night; *kūrch*, drink; *mikatch*, death; *ninghār*, ghee; *rikā*, rupee; *tigro*, see; *tūbargo*, swim; *tūrrak*, sleeping, and so forth. Of these *ghamālā*, sun, is of some interest, as being evidently connected with Romani *kham*, sun, *lit.* heat.

With regard to the word *jhūkil*, dog, in the Sitapur texts, and *jhūkal* in Mr. Kirkpatrick's list, it should be noted that this word likewise presents a marked similarity with the European Gipsy word *juke*, dog.

Such words appear to belong to the original vocabulary of the Kanjars, and many of them are no doubt unintelligible to outsiders. The case is a little different with the Arabic numerals which are used by the Kanjars of Belgaum, just as is the case with the Qasāis of the Panjab. The numerals in question will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 180ff., and their Arabic origin is self-evident.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning of a word is often changed. Thus *kō* is prefixed in *kōhatb*, hand (Sitapur); *kh* is prefixed or substituted for another initial in many cases. Compare *khachchā*, good; *khakāl*, famine; *khārō-kē*, of the friends (Aligarh); *khamāl*, property (Kheri); *khāgdē*, before; *khādmī*, man; *khacāj*, sound; *khakkāl*, famine (Sitapur); *khandar*, inside; *khāpar*, above (Belgaum). *Ch*, *chh* are apparently only prefixed to or substituted for labials; compare *chibarwā-kū*, to fill (Aligarh); *chībrō*, big; *chībhāi*, brother; *chhūkā-sē*, from hunger; *chhētār*, inside (Sitapur); *chait*, sit; *chibādō*, big; *chanlā-kē*, having called (Belgaum).

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as *faknā*, eye; *qharib*, poor; *qhilāp*, against (Urdū *khilāf*); *qhuai*, merry (Sitapur); *qharrō*, big (Aligarh).

N only occurs as a substitute for *k* or *kh* in the texts. Compare *nēt*, field (Aligarh and Sitapur); *najūā*, man; compare *kājarō* (Sitapur).

Labials do not appear to be much used in this way. Compare *pādō*, bull (Belgaum), which may be Tamil *māḍu* or Hindōstānī *sāḍ*; *bēk*, one; *baur*, and; *bīrō*, that (Sitapur).

R is of more common occurrence. Compare *rakriā-kō* *rachchā*, a goat's young (Aligarh); *rahnāō*, put on; *rarmēsur*, God; *rusāk*, cloth; *riūchhis*, asked; *ramāl*, make; *rahit*, much; *rūlak*, country; *rajārā-kū*, to the servants (Sitapur). In all these instances *r* has replaced an old labial. It is, however, occasionally also used instead of other sounds; compare *ruāb*, answer; *ramā*, together; *rarsā-sē*, from years, all in the Sitapur texts.

An *l* is prefixed in *lakhūosā*, I will say (Sitapur); *lakhāre*, said (Aligarh), and it has been substituted for an *n* in *likārō*, bring out.

Words are also disguised by means of additions at the end, and such additions are very common in Kanjarī, just as is the case in Dōm. Some of them such as *ō* and *r* have already been mentioned above. With regard to *r* I may add that it is also added after nouns and adjectives. Compare *gurārō*, foot; *bhaiyārā*, brother (Aligarh); *chhufārō*, small; *thurārā*, few (Sitapur); *phalāri*, fruit (Belgaum). Several other additions are used, and most of them are well known from similar

argots. The principal ones are, so far as we can judge from the materials available :—

g or *gh* is used in words such as *aogh*, come ; *liūghis*, took ; *haughē*, is (Sitapur) ; *gaugrō*, went (Belgaum). The initial consonant of the suffix *gir* (*ghir*) mentioned above is perhaps of the same kind.

An element *efō* or *ēthō* is comparatively often added. Thus, *papēfō*, sin ; *malēthō*, property (Aligarh) ; *hattēfō*, hand ; *khanēfō*, food (Belgaum).

A dental has been added in words such as *ramtā*, pity (Sitapur) ; *chamakdē*, lustre ; *bahutdē*, many (Belgaum).

A common suffix is *ēlō* ; thus, *khatēlā-mē*, on the hand ; *batēli*, words (Aligarh) ; *hisēlū*, share ; *papēlō*, sin (Sitapur) ; *khakēlē*, eye ; *jibēli*, tongue (Belgaum). Instead of *ēlō* we also find *bēlō* and *hēlō* ; thus, *dubēlū*, two ; *tibēlū*, three ; *bop-hēlō*, father ; *bhus-hēli*, chaff ; *chum-hēlō*, kissed, all in the Sitapur specimens.

The preceding remarks will be sufficient for removing the difficulties in the way of understanding the specimens of Kanjarī which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son received from the Sitapur district. It will be seen from the Parable and from the Standard List of Words and Sentences printed below on pp. 180ff. that there are comparatively few traces of the influence of Awadhī, the chief language of the district.

[No. 30.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SITAPUR.

Bēk najaū dubēlū chūbhā ranghasā. Bithi-mā chhutārō bap-hēlā-sē
One man(-of) two sons were. Them-in small-one father-to
 lakhāmdō, 'bap-hēlū, merō hisēlū jō khujārā-sē niphrē, sō tiār.
said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give.'
 Bihī batwār tiāris. Thurārā dīn-hēlā chhutārō chābhkō
He having-divided gave. Few days-in small son
 ramā-kar-kē rūlak chailō gaughirō, haur apnō malhēlō
together-having-made country(-to) moved went, and own property
 khurāo dīnhis. Jab sab khurāo tiāris, birō rōlkō barō khakkāl
wasted gave. When all wasted gave, that in-country big famine
 parghirō, haur dharīb hō-gaō. Tab us rōlkō-mā bēk
fell, and poor becoming-went. Then that country-in one
 ralakh khādmī tīr ranghan lagirō. Birō apnō nētō ghurghur
wealthy man near to-live began. He own field sowing
 charāwnē pathāis. Birō chaughirō bhūs-hēlī jō ghurghur dātā-dāī
to-feed sent. He wished huaks which sowing eating-were
 dūt-kē pīt-hēlō bharighis. Nak-hēlā kōī na tiāris. Tab
having-eaten belly may-fill. But anybody not gave. Then
 khōsō an-kē lakhāis, 'mērē bap-hēlā tīr ranjūrā-kū tipūī bahut
in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to bread much
 rach-raughirī, haur māī chhūka-sē lugdāī. Māī khunar-kō
saved-remained, and I hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen
 bap-hēlā tīr jaughisō, haur birō-sē lakhāwsū, "aī bap-hēlā, māī-nō
father near will-go, and him-to will-say, "O father, me-by
 khamānō-kē dhilāp haur tērē khāgēlē papēlō karōghis; māī tērō
heaven-of against and of-thee before sin done-was; I thy
 chābhkō lakhāibāwālō nahī. Mōh-kū ranjūrā-kī nāī ranāī." Tab
son one-to-be-called not. He servants-of like make." Then
 bihī apnō bap-hēlā tīr gaughirō. Abhaī woh durhēlō, birō-kō
he own father near went. Yet he far-was, his
 bap-hēlā tik-kē. ramta kīnhis, haur mpat-kē urō-kō dhalā
father having-seen pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck
 lagāī liūghis, haur rahut chamhēlō. Chābhkō kaughis, 'bap-hēlā,
attaching took, and much kissed. Son said, 'father,

tērō dhunā kinhaū, baur rarmēsūrō-kō dhunā kinhaū; birā laik-kō
of-thee sin I-did, and God-of sin I-did; now worthy
 nahī ki phir tērō chūbkō lakhāū. Bap-hēlā apnē
not that again thy son I-shall-be-called. Father own
 nukarhēlā-kō lakhāis, 'achhi rusāk niphār liāō, baur urō-kū rahnāō;
servants-to said, 'good robe taking-out bring, and him-to put-on;
 urū-kē kōhathō-mā khāgūthī gurārā-mā gurārī rahnāō. Ham dutāi
him-of hand-on ring feet-on shoes put-on. We may-eat
 baur dhusī hōē. Mērō chūbkō lōgirō hurō-thō, ab jibbārō;
and merry may-be. My son dead become-was, now revived;
 khubbārō gaō-thō, ab milghirō. 'Tab woh dhusī karnū lagirō.
lost gone-was, now was-found. Then they merry to-make began.
 Chibbrō chūbkō nētō-mā hūdō. Jab ribō-kē nagich-hēlā aughirō,
Big son field-in was. When house-of near came,
 gabbaribā nach-hēlā-ki khawāj sunghirō. Baur bēk nukarhēlā-kō
music dancing-of sound heard. And one servant-to
 rulāō-kē riūchhis, 'yō kā haughē? ' Wō us-sē lakhāis, 'tērō
having-called asked, 'this what is? ' He him-to said, 'thy
 chibhāi aughirō; tērō bap-hēlā-nē bapī rāfat kinhis, birā-rātō birō-kō
brother came; thy father-by big feasting made, this-for him
 khachehūhō paughis. Buthwār raughirō chhītar jaughirō-na. Birō-kō
well found. Angry got inside went-not. Him-of
 bap-hēlō chhābir ārō baur ranāūnō lagirō. Bap-hēlā-kū ruāb
father outside came and to-entreat began. Father-to answer
 tiūris, 'ūgō, itnī rarsā-sē māi tērī dhijmit karū; tērō dhuknō-kē
gone, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service do; thy order-of
 dhillāp na chālughē. Bēk rakariā-kā bachchā na tiūrō ki māi
against not went. One goat-of young-one not gavest that I
 apnē dhusēlā-kē sēth dhusī ranāūtō. Jaisē tērō chhutārō chūbkō
own friends-of with merry might-make. As thy young son
 ārō, jō tērō malhēlō dhasbiyā-mā khupāis, tū bunhā-ki bapī
came, who thy property harlots-among wasted, thou him-of big
 rāfat kinhis. 'Urō-kō ūr lakhāis, 'ai chūbkā, khamēsā tū mērō
feasting madest. Him-to he said, 'O son, always thou of-me
 tīr hās; jō mērō haughē, sō tērō haughē. Dhusī
near art; what mine is, that thine is. merry
 ranāē, dhusī hurō; tērō chibhāi lagirō-thō, sō jibbārō; khubbār
should-make, merry should-be; thy brother dead-was, he revived; lost
 gayō-thō, phir milghirō.
gone-was, again was-found.'

A specimen of Kanjari has also been forwarded from the Kheri District. It does not, however, represent any separate dialect, but is an attempt at writing ordinary Hindostani, as will be seen from the beginning of the Parable which follows.

[No. 31.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Ek bāpkē dō nēkrē thā. Lahaurē nēkrē-nē apnē bāp-sē.
One father-of two sons were. Younger son-by own father-to
 kahā, 'ayē bāp, apnē khamāl wis-mē-sē mērā bāṭā dē, jō
it-was-said, 'O father, own property that-in-of my share give, which
 mērē bāṭē-mē sē.' Tab us-nē dōnō nēkrē-kō balwā bāṭi
my share-in may-come.' Then him-by both sons-to property dividing
 diyā. Aur lahaurē beṭē-nē apnā balwā lē-kar dūr-kē
was-given. And younger son-by own property having-taken far
 mulkā-mē jātā rahā aur apnā balwā haram khauri-mē
country-to going stayed and own property forbidden wickedness-in
 urāyā. Sab jab ur-gayā us mulkā-mē kāl parēd aur
squandered. All when squandered-went that country-in famine fell and
 woli hō gayā naṅgā. Us mulkā-mē ek basindā-kē tīrē
he becoming went naked. That country-in one resident-of near
 jāi lagā. Us-nē usē sūr chugānē-kō khāt-mē
having-gone attached-himself. Him-by him pigs to-graze field-in
 ghulāyā. Apnā dilā-mē sōchā ki un chulū-kō jō sūr khālā
went. Own heart-in thought that this husks which swine ate
 un-par pēt bharē; us-kō kōi khāpē-kō dētā nahī thā. Apnē
thou-on belly may-fill; him-to anybody eating-for giving not was. Own
 dilā-mē tab akal kiā ki, 'mērē bāpā-kē itnē admī rōṭi
heart-in then sense was-made that, 'my father-of so-many men bread
 khātē haī, aur maī bhūkhō martī-hū. Maī uṭhī-kē apnē
eating are, and I with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own
 bāpā-kē dhaurē jāū aur us-sē yeh kahaṅgrā-hū ki, "bāp rē,
father-of near may-go and him-to this saying-am that, "father O,
 maī-nē bādar aur tērā barā kasūr kariā. Is lāek hū ab
me-by sky and of-thee big sin was-made. This worthy am now
 nahī ki phir tērā bēṭā kahaṅgrā, ki bāp rē, itnē majūr
not that again thy son shalt-say, that father O, so-many servants
 tērē lāgō haī, ek mujhē bhī lāgi jān."'
thine appointed are, one me also appointing consider."

The Kanjarī of Aligarh contains a strong Rājasthānī element. As has already been remarked there are, however, some features which seem to show the existence of a Dravidian element, while the *s*-suffix of the past tense points towards Eastern Hindī.

[No. 32.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT ALIGARH.

Kinnī-kā dō chūbkā thā. Irā-mē-sē chhōtā-nē bāpō-sē
Some-one-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by father-to
 kairs ki, 'bāpū, itihā-mē-sē tildē mērō.' Urō-nē duhī-kū
said that, 'father, property-in-from give mine.' Him-by both-to
 batbār dīs. Thōpā dinā-mē chhōtō batrō malēthō hikatthō
having-divided gave. Few days-in small son property together
 kairs, apnō libbār-kē par-dēs chalgurō gaigirō. Hūā phēlsūbī
made, own having-taken other-country moved went. There riotousness
 kairs aur khārs pīrs urārs khareh-kar tīlis; rabbārō na
did and ate drank squandered expended-making gave; remained not
 kachhu. Tab hūā khakāl dharrō hurō. Dutābās tāng hurō,
anything. Then there famine big became. Food scarce became,
 pallē na rairō. Tab kinū bhagwānō-kē hillā-sir hūā
in-possession not remained. Then some rich-man-of employment-in there
 jā lagirō. Urō-nē apnē nētā-mē ghurair chugānā bhijwārs.
going was-attached. Him-by own fields-in swine to-tend sent.
 Wūī chāhdō thō, 'jīn khaptā ghurair dāidō thō wūī māī bī khā
He wishing was, 'which husks swine eating were those I all eating
 tukhulō chibārwā-kū hundō.' Urā-kō kōī tildō nāy. Tab
belly filling-for am(-prepared). Him-to anyone giving not. Then
 urō-kū khēs ā-gāō, tab urō-nē kairs ki, 'tigō kī mērā bāpō-kē
him-to sense came, then him-by said that, 'see that my father-of
 balutērā rahnā tipuī dāidāē aur chhūkarō papurdaū. Ab māī
many servants bread are-eating and hungry I-alone. Now I
 chalgundaū bapētā-kē thaur jāgsū aur urō-sē kahsū, "bapētā, māī-nē
am-going father-of near will-go and him-to will-say, "father, we-by
 tērō āgē Bhagwānō-kō papētō kērō; ab māī tērō chūbkō kahwā
of-thee before God-of sin was-done; now I thy son to-say
 lāk na rairō. Apnā rahūg-kutsuā-mē mō-kū rakhwāl-lō."'
worthy not am. Own servants-among me putting-take."
 Hūā-se wū chalgurō bāpō-kē thaur augirō. Dārō-sē tigdāī bapētā-kī
There-from he moved father-of near came. Far-from seeing father-of
 chhātī bhariyāī, wūā-sē nipharō, urō-kū garā-sē lagā lis aur
breast was-filled, there-from went, him-to neck-to clasping took and

bahut chummi lis. Bāpō-sē batrā-nē kairsan ki, 'ē bapū, tērō
many kisses took. Father-to son-by said-was that, 'O father, of-thee
 āgē Bhagwānō-kō papētō kērō; māi tērō chūbkō kahwā lak na
before God-of sin was-done; I thy son to-say worthy not
 rahrō.' Tab bāpō-nē naukār-chākṛā-sē lakhārs ki, 'khachchā-mē
remained.' Then father-by servants-to said that, 'good-in
 khachchā tūpkā likārō aur irā-kā pēdāwō; aur irā-kē khatelā-mē
good clothes bring and him-to put-on; and him-of hand-on
 chhapēli pēdā til aur irā-kā guṇārā-mē guṇārā dār til. Chālō,
ring putting give and him-of foot-on shoes putting give. Come,
 khusī karuṇā. kit-kū-ki mērō jī batrō mar-gōgirō, phēr jī
merry we-shall-make, because my this son dead-gone-is, again alive
 parigurō; jī jaugadō rairō thō, phēr ā-gōgirō.' Aur sab khusī
fell; he last remaining was, again came.' And all merry
 karnū lagirō.
to-make began.

Urō gharīyē urō-kō bapō batrō nēā-mē thō. Urō augirō aur jab
That at-time him-of big son fields-in was. He came and when
 ribō-kē thanrē pahūchigirō, urō-nē gāwā-kō aur pāchwā-kō khalās
house-of near came, him-by singing-of and dancing-of sound
 sunigulis. Aur urō-nē ēkō nukrēthā bulārs aur lakhārs ki, 'jī
was-heard. And him-by one servant called and said that, 'this
 kā hubhār rairi?' Aur urō-nē urō-sē jī lakhārs ki, 'tērō chhōtō
what going-on is?' And him-by him-to this said that, 'thy small
 bhaiyārā bagadi augirō. Tērā bāpō-nē khātārī karī-gursō, kit-kū-ki urō
brother returning came. Thy father-by feast done-was, because he
 achchhō nikō ā-gōgirō.' Tab urō-kū rīs ā-gōgiri; bithī-sē urō-kō bapētō
good well came.' Then him-to anger came; therefore him-of father
 ribō-sē likārī-kē augadō rairō urō-kō manālō. Urō-nē bapētā-kū
house-from having-come-out come was him entreated. Him-by father-to
 ūtar dīs, 'tā bāp tigi, itnē barsē-sē māi-nē tērī khāharī
answer was-given, 'thou father see, so-many years-from me-by thy service
 kērī; kabhai tērī batēli dīraurī nā; tau-bī tē-nē ēk rakriā-kō
was-done; ever thy word was-broken not; still thee-by one goat-of
 rachchā mō-kū nā tillō ki apnā khyārā-kō saṅg rauj upādō;
young-one me-to not was-given that own friends-of with merry might-make;
 pari jaisē jī tērō chūbkō ārō, irō-nē hurikiāpēchō-mē malēthō sab
but when this thy son came, him-by adultery-in property all
 urā dīs, tē-nē urō-kō linē patēli dīnī.' Urō-nē
squandering gave, thee-by him-of for-the-sake feast, was-given.' Him-by

urō-sē lakhārs, 'ē chūbkā, tū sadā mērē ṭhaur rabbārō; jō mērē
 him-to said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art; what of-me
 pasēlē hubbārē, sō sab tērō-i hubbārē. Ham khusi karugsā, kit-kū-ki
 near is, that all thine-only is. We merry shall-make, because
 tērō jī bhaiyarā marugirō, phēr jibbār-kē; aur jī jādō rairō,
 thy this brother dead-was, again having-come-to-life; and he lost was,
 phēr ā-gōgirō.
 again came.'

The specimens received from Etawah are essentially of the same kind as the preceding ones. Note, however, the future forms *jānō*, I will go; *kahnō*, I will say, and the greater admixture of Hindōstānī.

[No. 33.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kisā kājarō-kē dō batrā thā. Ōchhō batrā-nē dā-sē kahī
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'arē dā, bihārō-mē jō mērō rīkā hai, mērō dā-dē.
that, 'O father, property-in which my share is, mine give.'
 Tab us-nē un-kō apnī bihārō lāṭ dīnā. Bahut dīn
Then him-by them-to own property having-divided was-given. Many days
 [na] hōgā kī ōchhō batrā sab kuchh ikatthā kar-kē dūsrō
 [not] became that small son all whatever together having-made other
 mulk-kō gawā aur apnī bihārō uṭawā. Tab wā mulk-mē
country-to went and own wealth was-squandered. Then that country-in
 barō akāl pairō aur wah kaṭgāl hō gawā. Aur wā
big famine fell and he destitute becoming went. And that
 mulk-kō rahandō-mē-sē ek-kī yahī rahan lagō, jis-nē usē apnē
country-of inhabitants-in-from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own
 khētō-mē suar charān jādō. Aur un chhimiṭ-sē jinhō suar
fields-in swine to-tend was-sent. And those huses-from which swine
 khātē thē apnō udrō bhar linhis, aur kōi na dēnē tō. Tab
eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was. Then
 usē chētany huē, tabi wā-nē kahī kī, 'mērō dā-kā
to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 kitnē majūrō-kō jāfat-sē barh rōṭī hōtī hai, aur māī
how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I
 bhākhō maddō hē. Māī uṭh-kē apnē dā dhīg jānō aur
with-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own father near will-go and
 wā-sē kahō kī, "hē dā, māī-nē baikuṭh-kē uṭhō āp-kē sūdhē
him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before
 pāp karō hai. Māī phir āp-kā batrā kahōnē kām-kā nahī.
sīn done is. I again your-Honour-of son to-be-called worthy not.
 Mujhō apnē majūrō-mē-sē ek-kē barabbār karwā."
Me own servants-in-from one-of - like make."

The Farrukhabad specimens are also much mixed with Hindōstāni. Note also Pañ-jābī terminations such as *bich*, *rich*, *in*, and the doubling of consonants in words such as *laggā*, began. The general character of this form of Kanjari will be apparent from a perusal of the short specimen which follows.

[No. 34.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN V.

DISTRICT FARUKHABAD.

Ikk chôr kisû ghar-bich ghus-gayâ aur andhêrê-mâ dhûdhnê laggâ
One thief some house-in entering-went and darkness-in to-search began
 ki. 'kôî dāmô-di ohij hâth laggê, tō lai jâû.
that, 'some value-of thing hand may-be-applied, then taking may-go.'
 Achchānak ikk sandûkh par thukkar laggi. Chôr-nê utthîhâ
Suddenly one box on stumbling was-applied. Thief-by having-lifted
 llâ. Sandûkh bhâri thâ. Man-vich suchchâ ki. 'i-mâ
was-taken. Box heavy was. Mind-in it-was-thought that, 'this-in
 mâl huggâ.' I-gal man-vich sôch ghar-sû bāhar andâ
property will-be.' This-matter mind-in thinking house-from out came
 aur ikk bagiyâ-vich jhârî-dî ôṭ waith-kar kil-sû tallâ khôlnê
and one garden-in bush-of behind having-sat-down nail-with lock to-open
 laggâ ki. 'unâ-dâ mâl nikasû.' I kartâ
began that, 'that-of property I-may-take-out.' This doing
 bājâ-di kôî kal chal-gai jî-sû bājâ bājnê
musical-instrument-of some spring moving-went which-from instrument to-play
 laggâ. Chôr-nê dar-dê mārê bājâ patāk-mārâ aur sanûdê
began. Thief-by fear-of from instrument was-thrown-down and own
 jân lē-kar bhaggâ. I bāg-dâ mālî chôr-dê paggân-dê
life taking fled. This garden-of gardener thief-of footstep-of
 âhat-sê jaggâ aur dēkhnê laggâ ki. 'i kē-gal hai?'
sound-from awake and to-see began that, 'this what-matter is?'
 Sarhi-dâ jân parâ ki jhârî-vich bājâ-dê âwāj nikas
Him-of knowledge fell that bush-in instrument-of sound coming-out
 rahî hai. Tō i-kô chôr-sê kam dar nahî laggâ.
remaining is. Then this-to thief-from small fear not was-attached.
 Dar-dê mārê mālî bhî utthê-sû bhuggâ aur bāg-dê mālîk-sê
Fear-of on-account gardener also there-from fled and garden-of owner-to
 i-gal kaîndâ ki. 'bagiyâ-vich bhût â-gayô.' U-nê bagiyâ
this-matter told that, 'garden-in spirit came.' Him-by garden
 ghêr-lai aur jhârî-dê ôṭ khusî karandâ-hai.
was-surrounded and bush-of behind merriment made-is.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A thief entered a house and began to search in the dark if he could find anything valuable. Suddenly he stumbled against a box, which he then carried away. The box was very heavy, and he thought that it might contain some property. Thus thinking he came out of the house and sat down behind a bush in a garden, and tried to open the lock with a nail in order to get at the property. By doing so he moved the spring of a musical instrument which then began to play. The thief got afraid, dropped the instrument and fled for his life. The gardener of the garden woke up from the sound of the thief's footsteps, and when he began to look into the matter, he found out that the sound of a musical instrument came out from the bush. He consequently became no less afraid than the thief. Therefore he fled and reported the matter to the owner of the garden, saying that a ghost had entered the garden. He had the garden surrounded and made a feast behind the bush.

In Belgaum the speech of the Kanjars is known as Kanjari. Its general nature has been described above, and the specimens which follow do not present any difficulties. The first is a version of the Parable, and the second a popular allegory about the Sun. A Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff. It will be seen that some of the numerals registered in it are, as has already been remarked, Arabic.

[No. 35.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN VI.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan kâjarô-ku jaudô baidâ handâ. Unâ-mâ nunkô baidô
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
 apañê bāpô-ku sidārô, 'bāpô, tērô jindgi-mâ mērô ewākô hissô
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in mine coming share
 mau-ku kidô.' Bāpô-nê unâ-mâ apañi jindgi batwārô. Nunkô
me-to give.' Father-by them-among own property divided. Younger
 baidô apañi hissô lēwar-ko dūr gaū-kô nikhar-ko bahut din
son own share taking far village-to having-gone many days
 hōrâ-nâ ittâ-mâ ē dundī hōwâr-ko apañi jindgi sab
became-not this-much-in he riotous having-become own property all
 lutwārô. Ê aiso karwâr-ko khūpar wô mulkô-mâ chibaddô dukâl
wasted. He thus having-done after that country-in big famine
 girwâr-ko urû-kî garibi awarri. Ê wô mulkô-mâ ekkan
having-fallen him-of poverty came. He that country-in one
 kâjarâ-kê pās naukri rhairô. Wô kâjarô urû-ku dukrê charawâ-ku
man-of near in-service stayed. That man him swine feeding-for
 apañi khētô-ku lagâ-dinâ. Whā bhukô-dê talma-ko dukrê
own field-to employing-gave. There hunger-from having-suffered swine
 khândāsô bhussô-bi thār-ko pētô bharwâr-lendô, phir-tu urû-ku
eaten husks-even having-eaten belly filling-took. but him-to
 kirô-kê pās-dê ka-bi milwârô-nâ. Aisô-ch thōdâ din
anybody-of near-from anything-even was-got-not. Thus few days
 hurâ, apañi pichawādkê bateli yād hōwâr-ko ē apañi
became, own former state remembrance having-become he own
 ji-mâ dusārô, 'mērô bāpô-kê hyā aisa bahutdê naukri-ku pētô
mind-in said, 'my father-of with so many servants-to belly
 bharwâr-ko jāstī hōwâr-ittô khanētô milwāddô; phir-tu hyā
having-filled excess becoming-so-much food is-got; but here
 māi-tô bhukâ-dê mardū. Māi khuṭ-ko mērô bāpô-kê
I-on-my-side hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-of
 hyā nikhar-ko dusārô, "bāpô, māi mahābūb-kô pāp awar
there having-gone say, "O-father, I God-of sin and

bāpō-kō pāp bandwār līnō. Maī tērō baidō kar-ko bōi-lāwā-ku
father-of sin attacking took. I thy son saying to-be-called
 byādik-mā; mau-ku ekkan naukrō-kē sarikō tērō najik rakhwār-tē."
worthy-not; me one servant-of like of-thee near keeping-lake."
 E whā-dō khut-ko * apapi bāpō-kē pās awarō, bāpō-nē urō-ku
He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to
 dūrū-dē dikhwār-ko mayā awar-ko bhagwār-nikhar-ko chaukaḍ-
far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embrace-
 lē-ko chummā dīnō. Tabi baidō bāpō-ku dusārō, 'bāpō,
having-taken kiss was-given. Then son father-to said, 'father,
 maī mahābūb-kā sambūr tērō sambūr takhīr karō-hū. Mau-ku
I God-of before of-thee before sin done-have. Me
 tērō baidō kar-ko dusārō-nā.' Use bāpō-nē apapē naukrō-ku
thy son having-said to-be-said-not.' That father-by own servants-to
 sidārō, 'uśchō libās lawar-ko mērō baidō-ku pināw; unḡalya-mā
was-said, 'high dress having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on
 aṅgōṭī ḍalwārō, guṇḍālē-mā jūtā ḍalwārō; khaṇēṭā-kī tayāri
ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation
 karwār. Hamē thur-kō khuśāl hōwnūgā. Kaikutu yō mērō
make. We having-eaten merry shall-become. Because this my
 baidō mar-gōdō, phir jān awarri; gawānde-gaudō, millō-hē.' Yē
son died, again life came; lost-gone, found-is.' This
 sunwār-ko sārā khuśāl hurā.
having-heard all merry became.

Yē baktō-ku urō-kō chibaddō baidō khētō-mā handō. E
This time-at his big son field-in was. He
 nandō-kē pās awarāsō baktō-mā urō-ku gāḡō awar rang sunwār
house-of near coming time-in him-to singing and dancing hearing
 awarō. E naukar-mā-dē ekkan-ku chaulā-ko, 'kā challo
came. He servants-in-from one-to having-called, 'what going-on
 hē?' dusār-ko puchwārō. Use ē sidārō, 'tērō bhai
is?' having-said asked. That-to he said, 'thy brother
 awarō-hē, ē khuśī-dē awar-ko pohacharō, urō-ko wāsdē tērō
come-is, he happily having-come arrived, him-of for-the-sake thy
 bāpō-nē khaṇēṭō karwārō-hē.' Yō sunwār-ko urō-kō chibaddō baidō
father-by feast made-is.' This having-heard his big son
 khandar gaugrō-nā. Us wāsdē urō-kō bāpō-nē bhār awar-ko,
inside went-not. That for his father-by outside having-come,
 'khandar awar,' kar-ko urō-ku bahut sidārō. Use ē apapē
'inside come,' having-said him-to much was-said. That-to he own

bāpō-ku dusārō, 'maī itnā bars-laga tērō naukri karwār-ko kabī
father-to said, 'I so-many years-for thy service having-done ever
 tērō bateli tudwādō-nā. Phir-tō-bī maī mērō dōstaū-ku milwār-lē-ko
thy word broke-not. But I my friends-to having-collected
 khanētō karwār-ke wāsdē yō mau-ku ekkaṇ bakrā bī
feast making-of for-the-sake thou me-to one goat even
 dīnō-nā. Phir-tu rūḍaū-ke sōbatī-mā paḍwād-ko tērō sārī jindgī
given-not. But harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy all property
 mīngal-līnōdo yō tērō baidō nandō-ku ārō barōbar yō
having-devoured this thy son house-to coming immediately by-thee
 urō-ke wāsdē khanētō karwārō-hē. Bāpō-nē baidā-ku dusārō,
him-of for-the-sake feast made-is. Father-by son-to said,
 'yō mērō saṅgāt nit-rōj rahēndō. Mērō pās hē, sō sārī
'thou of-me with all-days art. My near is, that all
 tērī-ch hē. Mar-gausō tērō bhai, phir-ku jidē utrō hē;
thine-only is. Dead thy brother, again alive arisen is;
 gam-gaudō-sō, milwādō hē. Aisō hamē khuṣī hōwār-ku byādik hē.
lost-gone, found is. Thus we merry being-for proper is.'

[No. 36.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Baidō, maī kōn? mērō nām kā? urō-ku māhum hē kā? Maī
Boy, I who? my name what? you-to known is what? I
 agarib-dē āndā, awar maī ārō barōbar dīn nigarō. Yō utawā-ko
east-from come, and I come immediately day comes. You arising
 hakhat hurrō-to maī mērō sunnā-kō sarikō hattētō tērō khiḍki-mā-dē
time comes-then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from
 lambō karwār-ko yurō-ku uṭhāndā. Yō bichhāpā-pō padwāḍ rhaiko
stretched having-made you awaken. You bed-on falling remaining
 wāsdē maī āndū-nā. Yō utwār-ko nhawā-ku wāsdē kitab padwā-ko
for I come-not. You having-risen to-bathe for books to-read
 wāsdē sāli-ku nikharwā-ke wāsdē maī āndā. Maī nīrō chalwār-nēwālō hū.
for school-to to-go for I come. I good walker am.
 Maī rastō chalwār-ko asmān-mā phir-ko awarwā-ku ekkaḍ dīn
I road having-walked sky-in returning coming-for one day
 hōnū. Maī kabī thagadū-nā, rahāt-bi-nā. Mērō śīr-pō jhalak
becomes. I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not. My head-on shining
 sunnā-ki tsj hē. Us-ki chamakdē maī chau-taraph phēkadū-hē.
gold-of crown is. That-of light I four-directions throwing-am.
 Niwāṇi-pō nandū-pō dzhādā-pō mērō jhāl phailāndū. Mērō chamakdē girrōsō.
Water-on houses-on trees-on my rays spread. My light fallen,
 sab chijō khapsūrat awar rōṣanī najar āndī. Maī yurō-ku uṭālō dēndū,
all things beautiful and shining sight go. I you-to light give,
 awar dhūp bī maī-ch dēndū. Maī phalāri awar anāj pakāndū. Maī
and sunshine also I-alone give. I fruit and corn ripen. I
 asmānō-mā bahut khuṣchō hū. Sabī dzhādān-dē dōṅgarān-dē abar-dē
sky-in much high am. All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than
 maī khuṣchō hū.
I high am.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Boy, do you know who I am and what my name is? I come from the east. The moment I come, the day breaks. When it is time for you to get up, I stretch forth my golden hand through your window and awake you. I don't come to see you lying in bed. I come that you should be up and bathe, read your books and go to school. I am a fast traveller. I take but one day to travel round the whole sky. I am never tired nor do I ever halt. I have a shining gold crown upon my head. I throw its light in all directions. I spread my rays over water, houses and trees. All things that are lit up by me look beautiful and brilliant. I give you light as well as heat. I ripen fruit and corn. I am very high in the sky. I am high up above trees, clouds and mountains.

KUCHBANDHĪ.

The Kuchbandhīs are a subdivision of the Kanjars. They make the *kūcā*, or brush used by weavers for cleaning thread, and also apply themselves to other of the usual occupations of the Kanjars. A specimen of the so-called Kuchbandhī dialect has been forwarded from the Bahraich District of the United Provinces, the principal language of which is Awadhī. The first lines of it will, however, be sufficient to show that this Kuchbandhī simply is a mixture of Awadhī and Rājasthānī of the same kind as ordinary Kanjarī. Note the genitive suffix *rā* and the word *gihar*, man. Some remarks about the argot of the Kuchbandhīs will be found in Mr. Kirkpatrick's paper quoted under Authorities above on p. 97. It is of exactly the same kind as the secret language of other Kanjars, and, like similar argots, it is called *Pārsī*, or, according to Mr. Kirkpatrick, *Pāsī*.

[No. 37.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

KUCHBANDHI DIALECT.

DISTRICT BAHRAICH.

Ek gihar-kē dui batrā rahin. Arō-mā-tē chhōṭkawā batrā aprē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāpū-tē kahis ki, 'hē bāpū, kōhri-mā jāun hamrō hīsā hōē
Father-to said that, 'O father, property-in which my share may-be
 taun bātū dēō.' Tab-hī bāt dīnhō. Thōrē din bitrē
that dividing give.' Then dividing was-given. Few days passed
 chhōṭkawā batrā sab hīsā aprō jamā kīnhō ēk mulkō-rō
younger son all share own together made one country-of
 pardēsō chal gayō au uhā aprō mālō chalakī-mā urā
foreign-place going went and there own property wickedness-in wasting
 dīnhō. Jab kaṇī nahī rah gayō tabē ū mulkō-mā
was-given. When a-cowrie not remaining went then that country-in
 barō kāl pirō. Tab ū garīb hōnō lagrō aur ū mulkō-rō ēk
big famine fell. Then he poor to-be began and that country-of one
 basaiā-kō ghar kām karnō lagrō. Ū arō-kō ī kahis ki,
inhabitant-of in-house work to-do began. He him-to this said that,
 'khētān-mā suar char hāō.'
'fields-in swine tending take.'

NATĪ.

The Naṭs are dancers, acrobats and prostitutes and they are found scattered over a wide area. Their total number as returned at the Census of 1911 was 126,428, distributed as follows :—

Number of Naṭs.	Assam	5,143
	Bengal	9,979
	Bihar and Orissa	5,651
	Central Provinces and Berar	11,385
	United Provinces	68,376
	Central India Agency	10,090
	Rajputana Agency	8,447
	Elsewhere	7,357
TOTAL		126,428

The name Naṭ is a Prakrit-Sanskrit word and means 'dancer,' 'actor.' It does not connote any definite tribe but comprises many different clans, who are only linked together by their common occupation. Numerous names of sub-tribes have been returned from the various districts. Thus we find Baisiyās and Banjārās in Mainpuri, Bāriyās in Etawah, Brijbāsīs, who state that they come from Braj, in Bahraich, Pahārī Bhābars in Rampur, Pastos, Tasmabāz, and so forth. This simply means that any tribe may be represented among the people acting as Naṭs.

In such circumstances we cannot expect to find a separate language spoken by the Naṭs. In the information collected for the purposes of this Survey there figures a Naṭ language, returned under the name of *naṭ-ki bōlī*, with or without specifying additions such as Brijbāsi-Pastō, etc. The figures are as follows :—

Bengal	4,534
Bhagalpur	4,534
United Provinces	6,050
Aligarh	250
Mainpuri	2,000
Etawah	400
Bijnor	1,000
Rampur	300
Khari	2,500
Bahraich	500
	<hr/>
Total	11,534

The specimens received from the districts, however, show that there is no such dialect as Naṭī. The various clans classed together under the head of Naṭs speak the dialect of their neighbours. Like many other wandering tribes, however, they have a professional argot, made up by disguising ordinary words in the same way as in Criminal Sāsī. This argot has

Naṭ Argot.

nothing to do with grammar. The underlying dialect is either the ordinary vernacular or a mixture of forms derived from different dialects, such as we might reasonably expect in the mouth of travelling professionals who roam over a wide area and who are recruited from more than one tribe or clan. The specimens printed below will, however, show that the dialect of the Nats of the United Provinces contains an unmistakable admixture of Rājasthānī. Thus we find forms such as *batrā*, sons; *bafrā-nē*, by the son, in addition to the regular *batrā-nē*, by the son; *gayō*, went; and *lilpā*, went, in Mainpuri, and so forth. Some few details will be mentioned later on. It therefore seems as if those Nats whose speech is represented in our specimens have come from or at least spent some time in Rājasthān. The specimens will, however, also show that these Rājasthānī features are too few and too little thoroughgoing to justify us in classing Natī as even a debased form of Rājasthānī. What is meant under the denominations *Natī* and *Natī ki bōli* is not a definite dialect but the professional argot of the Nats.

As in the case of Sāsī the argot of the Nats contains several peculiar words such as *bōrā*, boy; *būnā*, *chhāī*, water; *chhumkar*, day; *chilapnā*, go; *dimnā*, *dūtnā*, cat; *gēm*, thief; *kājā*, cultivator, squire; *khollā*, house; *khun*, mouth; *lagnā*, die; *lōd*, *nād*, bull; *nēl*, night; *tiyārgā*, that (person or thing) concerned; *fōgnā*, drink; *ṣupdā*, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as Sāsī and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasmabāz residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 314-318 of the *Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. i. 1862.

The great majority of Natī slang words, however, have been taken from the common Aryan vocabulary of Northern India. To prevent outsiders from understanding them, they are then disguised in the same way as in the argot of the Sāsīs and others. One and the same word can be made unrecognizable in several ways and accordingly assume many different forms.

I have not noted any certain instances of mere transposition. Compare, however, *khun*, mouth (Bijnor); *chūbkā* = *bachchā*, young (Mainpuri).

The prefixing of a consonant, which then often supersedes an old initial, on the other hand, is very common.

A *k* is prefixed in forms such as *kōf*, eighth (Rampur); *kōdmī*, man; and substituted for an initial *b* in *kāf*, share (Mainpuri). *Kh* is much more common. Compare *khi-mālai*, property; *khimērā*, my; *khandar*, inside; *khakāl*, famine; *khōṭā*, small; *khin*, day; *khēlai*, belly; *khaināi*, having put on; *khād*, after; *khujhā*, me (all from Mainpuri); *khachchī*, water; *khunadī*, river; *khapānī*, water; *khaddā*, big one, Sir; *khakhēṭiā*, wolf (all from Bijnor); *khanēt*, belly (Rampur), and so forth.

Ch is substituted for an old labial in words such as *chakar*, seize, Hindōstānī *paṇar*; *khachhōṭē*, speaking, cf. Hindōstānī *bōlnā*, in the Bijnor specimens. *Chh* is similarly used in words such as *chhūkal*, hungering; *chhulk* = *mulk*, country (Mainpuri); *chhōd* = *bahut*, much (Rampur), etc. The soft palatals are also used as substitutes for labials in *jaṣūp* = *bāṭā*, share; *jaṣā* = *baṭā*, big (Rampur); *jhurā* = *burā*, evil; *jhaiyā* = *bhaiyā*, brother (Mainpuri), but also in cases such as *jhēk*, one; *jhakāl*, famine (Bhagalpur).

Of dental substitutes we may note *thāmnē* = *sāmnē*, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of *n*, *nh*; thus, *nēt* = *khēt*, field; *nāttī* = *chhāttī*, breast; *naulāj* = *mohlāj*, wanting; *namā* = *samā*, together (Mainpuri); *nichhē* = *pichhē*, after; *nammēścar* = *parmēścar*, God; *nāth* = *sāt*, seven; *nū* = *tū*, thou; *nō* = *thō*, were; *nhē* = *chhē*, six (Rampur), and so forth.

Of labials we may note, *ph* in *phēr*, three (Rampur); *b* in forms such as *bēg*, one; *bāhē*, to him (Mainpuri); *bōr* = *aur*, and; *bāki*, watchman (Rampur); and *m* in words such as *mahā* = *kahā*, said; *myō* = *kyū*, why? *māhtā* = *chūhtā*, wishing; *miar* = *pyār*, love; *māt* = *bād*, after, and so forth in the Mainpuri specimens. The form *marluk*, dead, is probably of another kind, the base *mar* being prefixed to the base *lug*, to die. In some of the Mainpuri specimens the old initial which has been replaced by *m* is subsequently added at the end of the word; thus, *mātkhē* = *khēt*, field; *musikkhē* = *khūsī*, merry; *mōlāchhē-nē* = *chhōjē-nē*, by the younger one; *mēlēhē* = *bēlē*, sons; *māphē* = *bāp*, father; *mērātē* = *tērā*, thy; *mwarē* = *sūar*, swine, and so forth.

Of other substitutes we may note *l* in *līpā* = *chalā*, went; *lālchālī* = *bodchālī*, bad conduct (Mainpuri); *r* in *rān* = *kān*, ear; *rahat* = *khēt*, field (Rampur); *rōska* = *chhōfā*, small; *rābhō* = *sab*, all (Bhagulpur), and so on. *R* is also used instead of *g* in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp. 180ff., in the word *tiyārgī rāē*, cow, where *rāē* corresponds to Hindōstānī *gāē*, while *tiyārgī* is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned.'

As in the case of other argots we also find words disguised by means of additions at the end. Note forms such as *khētai* = *pēt*, belly; *khimālai* = *māl*, property (Mainpuri); *labē* = *lab*, direction (Bijnor), and several consonantal additions. Such are, *k* and *g* in forms such as *kaugā* and *kōkā*, said; *gaugā*, went; *rangā*, stayed; *paugā*, got (Mainpuri); *ch* and *j* in *hōchā*, was (Rampur); *kujā*, made (Bijnor); cerebrals in forms such as *lagādnā*, to apply (Bijnor); *lugāfnā*, to beat (Rampur); *puchhacārō*, asked (Mainpuri); *t* in forms such as *khabāptā*, father (Etawah); *p* in verbs such as *deppō*, give; *līpō*, went; *līppāi*, applying; *karpā*, made (Mainpuri), and so on. Note also *dhūr* = *dō*, two; *bāpsā-kē*, of the father (Rampur); *kālnā*, to do, and the curious forms *jāturnā*, go; *ālurnā*, come (Mainpuri); *ālērē*, came (Rampur); *jāurtā*, going (Rampur); *āsrā*, came (Bijnor), and so forth.

It will be seen from the figures given above on p. 121 that most speakers of Naṭi in the United Provinces have been returned from the western part of the Province, from Etawah in the south to Bijnor in the north. We are comparatively best informed about the state of affairs in Mainpuri. There are several tribes in the district who make use of the Naṭ slang, such as the Baisiyās, the Banjārās, the Habūras, the Kanjars and the Kalabūz. The base is apparently everywhere the current Hindōstānī dialect with a tissue of Rājasthānī. This element has not been organically mixed up with the underlying Hindōstānī, but Rājasthānī forms are occasionally used side by side with the ordinary ones. Thus we find instances of the nominative in *ō*, the oblique base in *ā* and the plural in *ā* of strong masculine bases; compare *rajēfō chīndā hoichchō*, there was a rich man, but commonly forms such as *jharā batrā hoichchā*, the big son was (in the fields); *batrā-nē* and *batrē-nē*, by the son; *dhōr batrā hoichchē*, there were two sons, and so forth. The version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son which follows well illustrates this form of speech. It has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā.

[No. 38.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Bēg rajēttē-kō dhōr batrā hoichchē. Uthi-mē-thi khōtō batrā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from small son-by
 chhūarā-thi kangā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, khimālai-kā khissā khimērā
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of share mine
 hoichchā hai thō khujhē deppi deppō. Tō tabi ūthi-nē khimālai-kī
becoming is that me having-given give. And then him-by property-of
 kāt kālī deppā. Thōrē khinō-kē khād khōtō batrē-nē sabī
shares having-made was-given. Few days-of after small son-by all
 kuchhī namā kālī-kē bēg dūr-kī khulk-kō līpā. Wahā khapnā
whatever together having-made one distant country-to went. There own
 khimālai kuchhī khurāē deppā. Aur jabī sabī
property in-bad-conduct having-wasted was-given. And when all
 hoichchī gaugā ūthi khulk-mē jharā khakāl hoichchā, aur wah
having-ceased went that country-in big famine became, and he
 nant āj hoichchī gaugā. Tabī ūthi khulk-kā bēg rajēttō chindā
in-want having-become went. Then that country-of one man rich
 hoichchō, jithī-kē wah ligpī jālurā. Aur ūthi-nē ūthi-kō khapnē
was, whom-of he employed went. And him-by him own
 nētō-mē taurdā dīmānē-kō khutāi deppā. Aur wah lugtā
fields-in swine feeding-for having-sent was-given. And he dying
 hoichchā ki ūthi chhilkō-thē jō taurdā dīmātā hoichchā, khapnā
became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own
 khētāi jharī leppē, ki kōi ūthē deppatā khatī hoichchā.
belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was.
 Jabī khōs-mē ālurā, kangā, 'khimērē chhūarā-kō khitnē kōdmī
When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)
 tāwālī hoichchātī hai; māī chhūkal lugtā hū. Māī khuth-kē khapnē
bread becoming is; I by-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own
 chhūarā pās līpūgā aur ūthi-thē kangūgā ki, "ēyō chhūarā, māī-nē
father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 khagās-kā aur tērā jhurā kōllā; abī ithī nāik khatī rahyō hoichchū
heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this fit not remained am

ki tērā batrā kaugī deppi jāmrō. Khujhē khapnō
that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go. Me own
 kōdmī-mē-thē bēg-kī nāfik khanaī leppō." Tabī khuth-kē khapnō
men-in-from one-of like having-taken take." Then having-arisen own
 chhūarā pās līpā. Aur wah abī dār hoichehā ki uthī-kō naukhiē
father near went. And he yet far was that him seeing

khī uthī-kō chhūarā-kō miār ālurā, aur līp-kē uthī-kō nātī-thē
immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to

līpāi leppā aur uthī-kō khitnē khītā leppi leppā.
having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken.

Batrē-nē uthī-thī kaugā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, māī-nē khagis-kā aur
Son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, me-by heaven-of and

tērā jhūrā kullā, aur khatī kī phir tērā batrā kōi kaugē.
of-thee sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call.'

Chhūarā-nē khapnō kōdmīyā-thī kaugī deppā ki, 'chindā chindā
Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, 'good good

tūpkō leppi ālurō, aur uthī deppi deppō; aur uthī-kī
clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give; and him-of

khaugurī-mē khaugūthī aur uthī-kō pāw-mē rēwriyā khanaī deppō; aur
finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give; and

hamī dimmē aur nusi khanaē ki yahi mōrā batrā lūgi jālurā
we may-eat and merry may-make as this my son having-died gone

hoichehē, thō chindā ālurā; hūrā bī khatī hoichehē jānē kiya
was, he alive came; anywhere even not is to-know where

gaugī rā, abī ālurā hoichehē. Tabī nusi kullnē raugā.
having-gone stayed, now come is. Then merry to-make began.

Aur uthī-kā jharā batrā nētō-mē hoichehā. Jabī khakān-kē-tē ālurā
And him-of big son fields-in was. When house-of-near came

aur khineh-kī khawāj namjā, tahī bēg kōdmī-kō kaugā lī, 'yē
and dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man-to it-was-said that, 'this

kyā hoichehā hai?' Aur uthī-nē bithō kaugā ki, 'tērā jhāiyā
what become is?' And him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother

ālurā hoichehē, aur tērē chhūarā-nē jharī chūndī dimmnā-kō kullā hai kī
come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is as

bithō chūndā ālurā naukhā. Uthī-nē kīthā hoichehī gaugī ki
him well come was-seen. Him-by angry having-become went that

bith khakān-kē khandar khatī jālurē. Tabī uthī-kē chhūarā-nē biyā-thē
that house-of inside not will-go. Then him-of father-by there-from

ālur-kō uthī namjāyā. Uthī-nē chhūarā-thī cheotō-mē kaugā,
having-come him it-was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer-in it-was-said,

‘naukh, itnē baras-thē maī tēri nidmat kulltā hoichchē, aur khadī
‘see, so-many years-from I thy service doing am, and ever
 tērē kaugnē-thī khatti khatī kullā, ki tū-nē khadī bēg khakriyā-kā
thy order-from no not was-done, that thee-by ever one she-goat-of
 chūbkā khujhē khatī deppā, ki khapnē khiyāwṛō-kē saṅgi nusi
young-one to-me not was-given, that own friends-of with merry
 kullnō. Aur jab tērā yah batrā alurō jithī-nē tērī khimālāi
to-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy property
 rajēṭṭiyō-mē khurāi deppā, tū-nē uthī-kē mātṭē jharī
women-among having-wasted was-given, thee-by him-of for-the-sake very
 chindā dimmnē-kō kullā.’ Uthī-nē uthī kaogā, ‘ēyō batrē, tū
good feasting-for was-made.’ Him-by to-him it-was-said, ‘O son, thou
 sadā mērāi pās hoichchā hai, aur jō-kuchh mērā hoichchē, thē tērā
always of-me near become art, and whatever mine is, that thing
 hoichchē. Ki nusi hōnā nājim hoichchē ki tērā yah jhāiyā lugā
is. But merry to-be proper is as thy this brother dead
 hoichchā, thē chindā alurā; aur hurā bī khatī hoichchā, thē abī
was, he well came; and anywhere even not was, he now
 alurā hoichchē.’
come is.’

The specimen which follows represents the same kind of Hindōstānī mixed with Rājasthānī. Compare Rājasthānī forms such as *khur-kō barō mēṭabē* (i.e. *bēṭā*), his younger son; *māpbai*, i.e. *bāpai*, by the father; *mājūrā-kō*, to the servants; *bhayō-chhā*, had become; *rauchhā*, I remain; *mahō* and *mahā*, said, and so on. Most forms are, however, ordinary Hindōstānī. The specimen has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā. It differs from the preceding one in the common practice of suffixing the original initial of disguised words; thus, *mānēgā=gānē*, singing; *mūtājū=jūtā*, shoe, and so forth.

[No. 39.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Khēk makassē dōs mēṭēlē thē. Un-unā-sē mōṭāchhē-nē
 One man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by
 mahā, *māphē, khimāl-kā khissā khimārā mujhē dē. Talī
 it-was-said, 'father, property-of share mine to-me give.' Then
 us-nē khimāl unḥē mūṭī dīyā. Thōraī dīn-kē māt
 him-by property to-them dividing was-given. Few days-of after
 mōṭōchhē mēṭēlē sab-kō mahāj kar-kē khēk dūr-kī chhulak-kō
 younger son all together having-done one distant country-to
 mupērsē kiya. Wahn apnā māl ladchālī khurpāyā.
 journey was-made. There own property in-bad-conduct was-squandered.
 Jab sab mīr-chukā-kīr-chukā us chhulak-mē barā khakāl para.
 When all had-been-eaten-away that country-in big famine fell.
 Khus chhulak-mē khēk khirāis-kē yahā khajā lagā.
 That country-in one squire-of place having-gone was-employed.
 Khus-nē khusē khapnē mētkhē muarsē charāban gōchā. Wah
 Him-by him own in-fields mine to-feed it-was-sent. He
 māhtā thā khī khun mīrkāchhē jō muarsē matēkhē, apnā
 wishing was that those husks which mine eat, own
 māṭayai bharē, khī kōī khusē na dātā thā. Jab
 belly may-fill, that anyone him not giving was. When
 bōsh-mē bhayō-chhā, mahā kī, 'merē māphē-kē mōjūrā-kō
 sense-in become-had, it-was-said that, 'my father-of servants-to
 bahut kharōṭī hāī. Khimāī bhākhō martā hū. Khimāī
 much breads are. I with-hunger dying am. I
 khuth-kē apnē māphē-kē pās jāṭgā aur khusē kahūgā. "si
 having-arisen own, father-of near will-go and to-him will-say, "O
 māphē, khāsmān-kā khaur mērātē munāgai kiya; ab is
 father, heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this
 laik nāṭhū rōchhū khī tērā mēṭabē kahlāyū; mujhō apnē
 fit not am that thy son may-be-called; me own
 majūrā-mē khēk-sā banā." ' Talīkhī khuth-kē apnē māphē-kē
 servants-in one-like make." ' Then having-arisen own father-of

pās gayō-chhā. Wah abhi khudār hatō, khusē lakh-kē
 near went. He yet far was, him having-seen
 khus-kē māpbē khirahm bhayō ; khūdaur-kē usai malōgē
 him-of to-father pity became ; having-run him to-neck
 khilagāi layō aur bahut khimōmāchē. Mētēbē-nē khus
 having-clasped was-taken and much kissed. Son-by to-him
 kōkū, 'ai māpbē, mē-nē agās-kā aur khitērē-kā munāgai
 it-was-said, 'O father, me-by heaven-of and thee-of sin
 kiya ; is kābil naithū rauchhū ki tērā mētābē
 was-done ; this worth not am that thy son
 kahlāyū. Māphai apnē nōkarō-kō mahā ki,
 I-may-be-called. By-the-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'achchhi achchhi mōsākayē khinikās lāō, usē mahdhāē
 'good good dresses having-taken-out bring, him putting-on
 dō, khus-kē khāth-mē khāngūthi aur mābyē-mē mūtājū mahdhāē
 give, him-of hand-on ring and foot-on shoes putting-on
 dō, aur ham musikhē manāē, myō-ki mērō mētābē islāk
 give, and we merry may-make, because my son dead
 gayō hatō, ab muji gayō ; mōkhāē gayō, ah milē gayō.
 gone was, now alive went ; lost went, now found went.
 Tab wē musikhē karnē lagē.
 Then they merry to-make began.

Khus-kō barō mētābē mētakhē-mē hatō. Jab marghē-kē
 Him-of big son field-in was. When house-of
 nazdik āyō mānēgā aur ginchō-bartō-kī awāz sulpi.
 near came singing-of and dancing-of sound was-heard.
 Tab khāk khinōkar bulākē puchhwārō ki, 'yah kai
 Then one servant having-called it-was-asked that, 'this what
 hai ? Khus-nē khusē mahō ki, 'tērā mabhāi āyō ;
 is ? Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother came ;
 hus-kī tērō māpbē-nē barī māfat karī, is liyē ki
 him-of thy father-by big feast was-made, this for that
 bhalō māgōchī pāyō. Mussā kī, na chāhā khandar
 good sound was-got. Anger was-made, not wished inside
 ki jāē. Tab khus-kē māpbē-nē khimanpōyā. Khun-nē
 that may-go. Then him-of father-by was-remonstrated. Him-by
 bāp-nē jawāb mēlō ki, 'lakh, itnē marashē tērī
 father-to answer was-given that, 'see, so-many years thy
 mijbat karpātō, khabhū tērē khukm-kē mubarkhilāf na chālē.
 service doing-was, ever thy order-of against not went.

Tū-nē kabhi khaik makarbi-kā bachchā na diyā ki
Thee-by ever one goat-of young-one not was-given that
 apnē mōstdē-kē māstlē mosikhē manāyū. Jab yah mētābē
own friends-of with merry might-make. When this son
 tērā āyō jā-nō tērā māl mēshyāē-mē urāyō, tū-nē
thy came whom-by thy property harlots-among was-casted, thee-by
 khus-kā liyē barī māftaj karpī. Khus-nē khus-sē
him-of sake-for big feast was-made. Him-by him-to
 lōpī, 'ai mōtēbē, tū sadā mērō māsyaī hai, aur
it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art, and
 jō-kuchh mērā hai sō khitērā hai. Khimusiikhē manānā
whatever mine is that thine is. Merry to-make
 khisuskhē hōnā marārjē thā, myū-ki tērā yah mahhāi mariuk
happy to-be necessary was, because thy this brother dead
 gayō, sō mijiyāō; aur mukhāē gayō thō, sō ab milyō
went, he reviced; and lost gone was, he now found
 hai.
 is.

A third specimen from the Mainpuri District, which has been forwarded under the head of Natī, is of the same kind as the preceding one. It contains the statement of a Nat about a theft.

[No. 40.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Mōrich bhāi; us-mē khaik muṭiwā gaō chhō. Khaik mariwa
Theft was; that-in one kettle lost was. One jug
 gai chhō. Dō gamāri thē gaiē. Phir mānēthē-mē gayā.
lost was. Two plates were gone. Then police-station-in went.
 Mē-nē rapat karpi jāi mānathdār āyā likh
Me-by report having-made having-gone police-officer came writing
 lichhāē-kā, phir marōgādi khapnē mānēthē-kō chalē
having-caused-to-be-written, then the-inspector own station-to moved
 gayō. Kuehlilik nāyi mil-āyō. Marōgādi-kai māsthē chār sipāhi
went. Anything not being-found-came. Inspector-of with from soldiers
 tin maukīehdār āyō thē. Mandrah wā sōlāh khādmi marōgādi-nē
three watchmen come were. Fifteen or sixteen men inspector-by
 khikkitthē karpē tamānā-kī talāshī layi ki, 'is nat-ki
collected were-made house-of search was-taken that, this nat-of
 mōrich hō gai yā nāhī.' Khaik khādmi-nē un-mē-sē
theft having-become went or not? One man-by them-in-from
 mahā ki, 'mē-rē mōrich kartō mēkhādō thē.
it-was-said that, me-by theft doing seen were.
 Makashāy-sō miwāldē-māi khaidi phāi dayō,
Instrument-for-house-breaking-by wall-in hole having-broken was-given,
 us wakat gāimī karpāt thē, sō bālī bachchē jag parpāi.
that time theft doing were, then young children awaking got-up.
 Tab gāim bhāj gayē. Mānathdār-nē mērā khinsāf nāhī
Then thieves running-away went. Police-officer-by of-me justice not
 kiya. Tabkhi mē-nō khidipti sāhab-kē yahā kharji dai.
was-done. Then me-by deputy sahib-of with petition was-given.
 Tab khidipti sāhab-nē magwāh buliyāē aur khun-kā izhār
Then deputy sahib-by witnesses were-called and them-of statement
 paugā, 'sach lōpat ki mōrich bhāi ki nāhī bhāi.' Khimañ
was-got, truth tell that theft was or not was. I
 bilkulkhi lut gayō. Khajūr mērā khinsāf nāhī karēgē,
wholly robbed went. Your-Honour of-me justice not will-make,
 tō māi mar jāīgā.
then I dying shall-go.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A theft has been committed, and one kettle, one jug, and two plates have been stolen. I went to the police station, and made a report. The police officer wrote it down. Then the Inspector went to his station. Nothing had been found. Four police soldiers and three watchmen had come with the Inspector. The Inspector then collected fifteen or sixteen men and searched the house to find out if a theft had been committed in my house or not. One of them said that he had seen the thieves at work. The wall had been broken by an instrument, and while they were stealing, the children woke and got up. The thieves then ran away. The police officer, however, did not do me justice, and so I filed a petition with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner called witnesses and took their statement, asking them to tell the truth whether a theft had been committed or not. I have been totally robbed, and if your Honour will not do justice to me, I shall die.

The slang of the Nats of the Etawah district is of the same kind as that used in the neighbouring Mainpuri. Thus we find *bōkrā*, son, as in Hindōstānī, but *bōkrā*, sons, as in Rājasthānī, and so forth. It will be enough to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration of this mixed speech.

[No. 41.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BĒRIYĀ).

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kōhū	ṭēhā-kē	khadōē	bōhrā	thē.	Uhi-mā-sē	lahurā-nē
Some	man-of	two	sons	were.	Them-in-from	younger-by
khabāptā-sē	kahā,	'arē	khabāptā,	pūji-māhi-sē	jō	hamārā
father-to	it-was-said,	'O	father,	property-in-from	which	my
nāṭṭilī	hōē	uh	ham-kā	bāṭbē.	Tab	uh-nē
share	may-be	that	me-to	divide.	Then	him-by
nāṭṭilī	kar	dī.	Bōhit	din	nāhī	kaṭē
shares	having-made	was-given.	Many	days	not	passed
bōhrā	sārī	pūji	ikṭhī	kar	anthā	chhāē
son	all	property	together	having-made	another-country	having-gone
rahyō.						
stayed.						

The Nat argot used in the Rampur State is known under the name of Pahāri Bhābar. The admixture of Rājasthānī forms in the specimens received from the State is comparatively small. Compare, however, the alternative genitive suffix *rā*, *rī*, *rē*; the locative suffix *nē*; forms such as *mārā*, *māhrā*, my; *nō*, i.e. *thō*, or *thā*, I was; forms such as *rahā*, *rahlā*, and *rehlā*, was; *dinī*, gave; *kini*, made, and the future suffixes *gā* and *rā*. Note also the aspirated letters in *gōghā*, went; *dudhlē*, eating; *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three, etc. The character of this form of speech will be easily recognized from a perusal of the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a statement relating to a dacoity. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff.

[No. 42.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR.

Bik kudmī-kē dhōr nīklē rahlē. Khalōhrā-nē bāpsā-sē
 One man-of two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kūkā ke, 'bāpsā, khaṭum-kā jaṭup mōhē dip-dēō.' Bōr
 it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And
 bappā-nē dip-diya. Nihōrgā khadīn nichhā khalōhra nīklē-nē chhōd
 father-by was-given. Few days after younger son-by much
 bīkhtā kōriā bōr khadūr-kē nidhwā-kū gōghā bōr khaṭum
 together was-made and distance-of country-to went and substance
 lūnālī-nē raharēh hupī gōkī. Phin ōh nidhwā-kē bīk
 riotousness-in spent becoming went. Then that country-of one
 khamīr-kē rōhlē gōghā. Ōh-nē rahtō-nē tūpā nūkānē rahlē.
 rich-man-of house went. Him-by fields-in pigs to-graze was-sent.
 Bōr ōhē khapīā rahlē ke ōh kōbē-sē jō tūpā duḥtē
 And his desire was that those husks-from which pigs eating
 haī āpan khaṇēi thēklē. Phin ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'mōhrē bāpsā-kē
 are own belly may-fill. Then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 chhīntē haī; uhaī jāōh haī; bōr mēh chhukā lūgtā hī.
 servants are; to-them breads are; and I hungry dying am.
 Mēh āpan bāpsā-kē dhigē chīlpūngā bōr ōh-sē kūkūngā ke,
 I own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that,
 "bāpsā, mēh-nē ākāś bōr tōhrē thāmne rasōr keli;
 "father, me-by heaven and of-thee before sin was-made;
 ab mōhē āpnē chhīntē sāhī karbō." Ōh 'bāpsā-kē
 now me own servant like make." He father-of
 dhigē chīlpā. Bōr ōh khadūr rahlē ke ōhē nūch-kar
 near went. And he far was that him seen-having
 ōh-nē bāpsā-kū mōh āyā, bōr khaṭōng-kē ōhē rīchhā
 his father-to affection came, and having-run his neck
 lagē-liyā bōr chhōd rīchhā kīlī. Bōr bāpsā āpan
 was-clasped and much caressing was-made. And father own
 chhīntō-sē kūkā ke, 'kuehhē kuehhē riprē lēp-āō bōr
 servants-to it-was-said that, 'good good clothes bring and

ōhē nēhr-lāō, bōr ōh-kē khūt-nē dīthī bōr gōnā-nē gōhnī nēhr-lāō ;
him put-on, and him-of hand-on ring and feet-on shoes put-on ;
 bōr ham dutē bōr rusī rōhōpō, ke māhrā nīklā
and we may-eat and merry may-be, that my son
 lūgā rahā, phin khājirī gōghā hai ; khajātā rahlā, phin khamlā
dead was, again alive gone is ; lost was, again found
 hai.' Bōr ōh rusī rōhōpō lāgē.
is.' And they merry to-be began.

Bōr ōh-kā jāpā nīklā rahat-nē rahā. Jab rōhlē-kē dhigē
And him-of big son field-in was. When house-of near
 āyā ' bōr khēchhā-kī dhur nōhnī. Bīk chhīotē-nu
came and dancing-of sound was-heard. One servant-to
 kākā ke, ' ē hūp hai ? ' Ōh-nē ōh-sē kākā, ' tōhrā
it-was-said that, ' this what is ? ' Him-by him-to it-was-said, ' thy
 bhaotā āyā hai, bōr tōhrē bāpsā-nē jāpī dūtā kēli.' Ōh-nē
brother come is, and thy father-by big feast was-made.' Him-by
 rūse hupī gōghā khapiyānā ke rōhlē na chīlpā. Ōh-kē
angry becoming went it-was-wished that house not may-go. Him-of
 bāpsā-nē khabāhar chīlap-kar khamnāyā. Ōh-nē bāpsā-sē
father-by outside having-gone it-was-remonstrated. Him-by father-to
 kākā, ' nākh, chhōd khadīn hupī gāe ke tōhrī khamētī
it-was-said, ' see, many days having-become went that thy service
 kōli rahā ; bōr tōhrē kākā-sē na chīlpā. Tōh-nē bīk
doing remained ; and thy word-from not went. Thee-by one
 rōhībrī-kā baehchā bhī mōhē na dīnī ke khyārō-kē hāth
goat-of young-one even to-me not was-given that friends-of with
 rusī rahpō. Bōr jō tōhrā ēh nīklā āyā jō tōhrā
merry might-be. And when thy this son came by-whom thy
 khatum patniyō-nē rahach hupī gōki. tōh-nē ōh-kē liē
property harlots-to spent becoming went, thee-by him-of for-the-sake
 chhōd dūtī kīnī.' Ōh-nē kākā ke, ' nīklē, tā sadā
big feast - was-made.' Him-by it-was-said that, ' son, thou always
 mōhrē dhigē hai, bōr jō mēhrā hai, sō tōhrā hai.
of-me near art, and what mine is, that thine is.
 Phin rusī rōhōpnā bōr rusī hōnā rahlā, ke tōhrā
But merry to-make and merry to-be was, that thy
 bhaotā lōgā rahlā, phin khajimān hai ; bōr khajātā rahlā,
brother dead was, again alive is ; and lost was,
 khamlā hai.
found is.'

[No. 43.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN VI.

STATE RAMPUR.

Thēr mahinā-sē chhōd khadīn bhāē ki kōdhi nāl-kū mahrē
Three months-from many days were that half night-at my
 rōhlē būlat bhāi. Mēh rōhlē-sē khabāhar nīppar-nē nūj
in-house dacoity was. I house-from outside shed-in sleeping
 rahā thā. Mēhri chhahan rōhlē-nē nūj rahā thā. Bīk
staying was. My sister house-in sleeping staying was. One
 kudmī mahrē rāhat-kī dhigō chhagatā huā mukhā. Khōtīthōgā.
man my bed-of near going become was-seen. I-rose.
 ō-sē nūchhā, tō kākā ke, 'būki hū.' Mēh
him-from it-was-asked, then it-was-said that, 'chautidār am.' By-me
 kākā ke, 'ōh bōr kudmī hai.' Phīn ōh chhāp-gayā.
it-was-said that, 'he another man is.' Then he going-went.
 Khadōrgā rihaprē nēhrē huē rēhā. Phīn nachhā khatīa bōl
White clothes put-on become was. Then twenty-five thirty burglars
 āē bōr kākā ke, 'ham hūtn hai.' Khandōri nāl rōhlē.
came and it-was-said that, 'we burglars are.' Dark night was.
 Namāñchā bōr tikhni leuthiā nandūkē sah khatiyār ōh-kē dhigō rahlē.
Pistol and sword sticks guns all weapons them-of near were.
 Kōt chul nandūkē-kē bhāē. Mēh gōghāt parā. Bīk nōhri
Eight fires guns-of became, I going fled. One knife
 thīā-nē lugārī bōr leuthiā lugārī. Mēh nīst hupī gayā ke
head-on struck and sticks struck. I quiet becoming went that
 lōth dārēgō. Phīn bīk kudmī tikhni liyā mēhrē dhigō rehārū
killing may-throw. Then one man sword taken of-me near standing
 rahā, bōr narwajjē-kā ruṇḍ nōrṇē lagē. Nīdhwē-kē dāmbhē chhōd
was, and door-of bolt to-break began. Village-of people many
 bikhattē hupī gāē. Tō mēhrē dhigō-sō bōl chīlpē gāē.
together becoming went. Then of-me near-from burglars going went.
 Phīn mēh khīptī-kē chīlpā gayā, bōr nīdhwē-nē billāta phirā
Then I having-run moved went, and village-in shouting went-about
 ke, 'mēhrē rōhlē-nē bōl ālrē, rīgh chīlpō.' Nēhlūānē
that, 'my house-in dacoits have-entered, quickly come? All-sides-from

bōl nandūkē lōhtē thē. Khadrā-kē mārē uthē kōī na
dacoits guns firing were. Fear-of on-account there anybody not
 jāsurā thā. Dhōr rapthā tāi bulattē rahē. Phin chilpē gaē.
going was. Two hours for robbing were. Then moved went.
 Bus-kē nīcchē mēh rōhlē gōghā, nukhā ke khatālā nuṭā
That-of after I into-house went, it-was-such that lock broken
 huā hai, khamāṭī rōdhālā-rī, dāmaiṣā-kī khaṭum khatāri
become is, earth dug-was, women-of property having-taken-out
 li, hōr gahnā sab lipī gaē. Bīkīs
was-taken, and ornaments all having-taken had-gone. Twenty-one
 hajārē-kā khaṭum bulṭī-kē lipī gaē. Kāgad
thousand-of property having-robbed having-taken had-done. Paper
 dīppī dīyā hai. Rīdhīrā hōr nēthrē jālā-kē
having-given given is. Quilts and stalks-of-juar-tree having-lighted
 bōlō-nē khujitā kī thī. Mēhrā jādhī-sē kāī kharañj nahī
dacoits-by light made was. Of-me defendant-with any ill-feeling not
 hai, na un-kē bhaotē-sē. Mēh-nē kīsi bōl-kā nahī nechānā.
is, not him-of brother-with. Me-by any dacoit not was-recognized.
 Mēh in bōlō-kā ke kachēriyā-nē rahē hāī nahī māchāntā.
I these dacoits who court-in standing are not know.
 Bōr jō khaṭum khīklē hōkē āyā hai, mēhrgā nahī
And which property recovered having-become come is, mine not
 hai. Bēk rahī tak mēhrē thāmnē mēhrā rōhlā bulattē rahē.
is. One hour for of-me before my house robbing remained.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

More than three months ago there was a dacoity in my house at midnight. I was sleeping in a shed outside the house, but my sister was sleeping in the house. I saw a man coming up to my bed, and on my asking him, he said that he was the watchman. I then said, 'that is another man.' Then he went off. He was wearing white clothes. Then some twenty-five or thirty dacoits came and said they were dacoits. The night was dark. They had all sorts of weapons, pistols, swords, sticks and guns, and eight guns were fired. I then fled, but was hit on the head with a knife and with sticks. I then kept quiet lest they should kill me. One man was standing near me with a sword, and started to break the bolt of the door open. Now many of the village people came together, and the dacoits left me. I ran into the village and went about shouting, 'dacoits have entered my house, come quickly.' From all sides the dacoits were firing guns, and nobody ventured to approach. They kept robbing for two hours, and then went off. After that I entered the house and saw that the lock had been broken, the soil dug up, the property of the women taken and all ornaments taken away. They had robbed

twenty-one thousand rupees' worth of property. I have given a list of it. The dacoits had burned quilts and straw and thus made a light. I have no ill-feeling against the defendant or against his brother. I did not recognize any one of the dacoits. I do not recognize those dacoits who are standing in court. The property which has been recovered is not mine. They were robbing my house in my presence for one hour.

The Naṭs in the Bijnor District base their argot on a dialect of the same kind as that spoken in Rampur. The Rājasthānī admixture is not very prominent. We may note forms such as *khabdā* and *khabdē*, O big one, Sir; *khabhēdiā-kē*, of the wolf (but *khabhēdiē-nē*, by the wolf); *āsrā*, they came, and so on. Note also future forms such as *jāgrā*, I will go; *kōguṅgā*, I will say; compare Sāsi. Another future formation is represented by *hōlā*, it will be. For further particulars the two specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second a translation of the well-known tale about the wolf and the lamb.

[No. 44.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BUNNOR.

Kisi kōdmī-kē dō nōbdē thē Chhōtē nōbdē-nē bāhā-sī
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to
 kahī ki, 'hamārā bāṭā bāṭī dē.' U-nē apnē
it-was-said that, 'our share having-deided give.' Him-by own
 jīndē-jī lāṭā diyā. Ghanē dinā nahī huē, chhōṭā nōbdā
living-of share was-given. Many days not were, small son
 sab khōbnā lō dāsre dēsā nālī gayā, aur wahā-sē
all goods having-taken another country going went, and there
 sahā khōbrā khurmasti lagādnō-mē barābad kar diyā. Aur
all goods riotousness applying-in wasted making was-given. And
 sab nāngā kar chukā, sō āthē mulkā-mē ghanā akrā
all spent making ceased, then there country-in mighty famine
 hō gayā. Jab lachār khōkhā hōnē lagā, tab us
having-became went. When helpless poor to-be began, then that
 dēsā-kē kisi kōdmī-sē jā bhēṭā. Tab us-nē usō tūṇḍā
country-of some man-with going was-joined. Then him-by him saying
 chugānē bhēṭī diyā. Tab hōshā-mē akē kōghā,
to-graze having-sent it-was-given. Then senses-in having-come it-was-said,
 'mērē bāpā-kē utnē mīhantī-kō bahutā oī hāī, māī bhākō
'my father-of so-many servants-to much breads are, I with-hunger
 mar chalpā. Māī ūthī-kē bāpā-kē pās jāgrā aur us-sē
dying went. I having-risen father-of near will-go and him-to
 kōguṅgā ki, "bāpā, hamī-nē āsmānō-kā tērē hazār taksirā
will-say that, "father, we-by heaven-of of-thee presence fault
 karā hai." '
done is."

[No. 45.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL

SPECIMEN VIII.

DISTRICT BILSON.

Ek khunaddi badi napā thi. Uh-kē dhāngā-pā ek-hi khabakti
One river very clear was. That-of bank-to one-only at-time
 khabhēdiā ō khabhēdā-kā khachhechā dōnō khapāni pinā āsā.
wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came.
 Garmiā khabautā tui rōgi. Khadūnō-kō khapyās lagi
Heat much having-fallen was. Both-to thirst having-become-attached
 rōgi thi. Khabhēdiā nthe khadā khapāni tōgi rahā thā,
being was. Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,
 utā-sē thōdī dūrā-par khabāo-kī tarfā khabhēdā-kā khachhechā
there-from little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep-of young-one
 khapāni tōgi lagā. Khabhēdiā-kē khumā khulubā lagā huā
water drinking began. Wolf-of in-mouth blood uncured become
 thā, uh-kē khēdārō-hi khumā-mē khachhechā talsuk āyā ; us-kē
was, him-of on-seeing-even mouth-in water filled came ; him-of
 dōnō-kē liyā khajhagrā khābā kiyā. ' Ō bē-nābā,
eating-of for-the-meat quarrel much was-made. O disrespectful-one,
 tujhē chī kulnā chahiyē ki pāō-sē hilāl hilāl khapāni-kō gādīā
for-thee this to-do is-wanted that feet-by moving moving water dirt
 kultā hai, jī-kī wajah-sē hum pāni na tōg-sāi. khapyās-kō
making art, which-of cause-from I water not drinking-am, thirst-of
 khamārō marī chalpāi. Khubchārō khubachhechō-nē jawābā
on-the-account dying may-go. Poor young-one-by answer
 diyā, ' khabdē, kyā hukmā khadērō hō ? Khapāni-kā khabāo
was-given, Sir, what order giving are ? Water-of current
 āpā-kī tarfā-sē mēri tarfā hai. Mēri labā-sē
self-of direction-from my in-direction is. My direction-from
 tēri labā-kō nahī jāē saktā. Tab khabhēdiā-nē kaugā,
thy direction-to not go can. Then wolf-by it-was-said,
 ' nuhī-sahī, tū baḍō khumgrā hai ; khachhē mōs huē tan-nē
' never-mind, thou great scoundrel art ; six months become thee-by
 mujh-kō bapā gārī dīpī thi. Khubachhechō-nē kaugā, ' khabdā,
me-to great abuses given were. Young-one-by it-was-said, Sir,

kyā nachī khacholtē hō ? Maī tō abhī khachh mahinē-kā
what trouble speaking are ? I even now six months-of
 hōpā nahī. Gārīā kis-nē dēpī hōgī ? Khabhēdiē-nē kaugā,
become not. Abuses whom-by given may-be ? Wolf-by it-was-said,
 'ithā tum-nē mah-kō gārīā na dēpī hōgī, tau tumhārē bāpā-nē
'here thee-by me-to abuses not given may-be, then thy father-by
 dēpī hōgī. Ah nisāpā yah hōēlā ki apnē bāpā-kē kartabō-kā
given may-be. Now justice this will-be that own father-of deeds-of
 dāḍā bhugtī hō.' Yah kaugī-kē khubachchē-kō chakur
punishment reaping may-take. This having-said young-one-of seizing
 liyā aur tāk-tāk kar-kē tūmī liyā.
was-taken and piece-piece having-made eating was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A wolf and a lamb came at the same time to the bank of a clear river to drink water. It was very hot and both were thirsty. The lamb was drinking water a little distance downstream from where the wolf was standing and drinking water. The wolf was very bloodthirsty, and its mouth watered on seeing the sheep. He tried to raise a quarrel in order to get an opportunity of eating him. He said, 'O impudent fellow, is it proper for you to make the water dirty by stirring it with your feet, so that I cannot drink it and may die from thirst?' The poor lamb replied: 'Sir, what do you command? The water flows from you to me and cannot flow from me to you.' Then the wolf said: 'never mind, you are a scoundrel; six months ago you abused me.' Said the lamb, 'how can this be true? I am not six months old. Who can have abused you?' The wolf said: 'if you did not abuse me, it must have been your father, and it is only just that you should be punished for the deeds of your father.' After having said this he seized the lamb, tore it to pieces and ate it.

The Nats of the Bahraich District call themselves Brijbāsī and state that they have come from Brāj. Their dialect seems to contain a larger admixture of Rājasthānī than we have hitherto found. It is, however, possible that the speech of the different Brijbāsī differs according to their last habitat, and it would be unsafe to base far-reaching conclusions on one single specimen. The first lines of a version of the Parable will be sufficient to show its general character. It will be noticed that the Rājasthānī element is so strong that it can almost be characterised as the base of the dialect. The specimen does not, on the other hand, illustrate the artificial argot of the Nats with which we are here concerned.

[No. 46.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BRIJBĀSI).

SPECIMEN IX.

DISTRICT BANBAICH.

Ek	ādmī-rō	dui	chhōrā	chhē,	U-mhā-lē	nānhikē	chhōrā
One	man-of	two	sons	were.	Them-in-from	by-small	son
bāū-nē	kahiō,	'uhō	bāū,	dhan	jaun	hamārō	hīā chhē
father-to	it-was-said,	'O	father,	property	which	my	share is
ham-nō	dai-dēō. ¹	Tabai	ū	dhan	ā-thai	bāi	dīnhō.
me-to	give. ¹	Then	he	property	him-to	having-deided	was-given.
Ujī	thār	doūs	bitē	nānhikē	chhōrā	jāmā-jathri	lē-kō
And	few	days	after	small	son	property	having-taken
	pardēsan	chalō	gayō,	ujī	uttē	āprō	māl-jāl
to-a-foreign-country	moved	went,	and	there	own	property	debauchery-in
	urā-dinō.						
	was-wasted.						

The argot of the Natā of the Bhagalpur District is based on a mixture of Eastern Hindi and Hindōstāni with some Bengali forms. It will be sufficient to give the beginning of a version of the Parable in illustration of this jargon.¹

¹ It is worth noting that the ordinary language of Bhagalpur is Bihari, a form of speech quite different from Hindi.—
G. A. G.

[No. 47.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN X.

DISTRICT BHAGALPUR.

Jhēkē	kuḍmī-kē	dhūr	rawāil	rahē.	Rōtkā	rawāil	apnē		
One	man-of	two	sons	were.	Small	son	own		
ḍugwā-sē	kuṭāis	jē,	'sab	tihā	masil	mērā	jhakhrā		
father-to	said	that,	'all	wealth	money	my	share		
batkhilālapā.	Dugwā	sab	tihā	masil	dhūrō	rawāil-kē	jhāt		
divide.	Father	all	wealth	money	two	sons-of	shares		
dihis.	Thōrācha	jhād	rōtkā	rawāil	apnā	sab	masil	gaṅg	
gave.	Short	after	small	son	own	all	money	piece	
lē-kē	jhari	dūr	rali	gapāil.	Wahā	sab	masil	gaṅg	rahūli-mē
having-taken	very	far	going	went.	There	all	money	piece	harlots-in
dhārāb-kar	dihis.	Jab	us-kā	rabthō	marchā	hō	geā,	tab	
spent-making	gave.	When	him-of	all	spent	becoming	went,	then	
us	dēs-mē	jhari	jhakal	parpāil,	ō	ū	bayitē-mē	ḍharib	hō
that	country-in	great	famine	fell,	and	he	food-in	poor	becoming
gail.	Tab	wah	jhōkō	kājā	raṅgh	rahēkō	gail.	Kājā	
went.	Then	he	one	gentleman	with	to-remain	went.	Gentleman	
us-kō	apnē	nēthā-mē	rūkar	oharānē-kō	bhējis.	Nashāē	rūkar-kē	bētaṭ	
him	own	field-in	swine	feeding-for	sent,	Husks	pigs-of	food	
bhū	milpāit,	tō	ū	apan	chuṭkāl	chūdhā	bhāl-kē		
even	would-have-got,	then	he	own	belly	glad	having-become		
laṭit.	Jab	wah	apnē	kihā	ḍharpā,	apnē	man-mē	chhōkē	
would-have-filled.	When	he	own	sense	held,	own	mind-in	to-say	
lagā	jē,	'hamarē	ḍugwā-kē	kītnē	khōṭabā-kē	etnā	dōmka	hai	
began	that,	'my	father-of	how-many	servants-of	so-much	bread	is	
ke	wah	apnē	bayitē	hai	ō	dūsar-kē	bayitātē	hai,	ō
that	they	self	eating	are	and	others-of	feeding	are,	and
									I
bhūkan	dhimī	jailā.	Ham	apnē	ḍugwā	raṅgh	jāisī	ō	kuṭāisī
by-hunger	eating	go.	I	own	father	near	will-go	and	will-say
jē,	"ō	ḍugwā,	ham	tērā	khahut	bējāē	kiyā,	ō	ham
that,	"O	father,	by-me	of-thee	many	faults	were-done,	and	I
rahūlā	chhōkāē	jōkar	naipī	hapāil;	apnē	nāhar-mē	khōṭā	rakhpā."	
son	to-be-called	fit	not	became;	own	presence-in	servant	keep."	

DŌM.

The Dōms are a menial caste belonging to what Sir Herbert Risley calls the Dravidian type. It is not uniform but comprises several variations and sub-castes. Some Dōms supply fire at cremation or act as executioners; others are scavengers, and some have taken to basket and cane working. The Dōms in the Himalayan districts have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artisans, while the wandering Magahiya Dōms of Bihar are professional thieves.

The Dōms are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir.

The following are the figures returned at the Census of 1911:—

Assam	30,412
Bengal	173,991
Bihar and Orissa	241,909
Central Provinces and Berar	9,344
Panjab	79,910
United Provinces	333,781
Kashmir State	52,000
Elsewhere	4,374
Total	926,820

To these may be added the following, shown in the Census under the names of Bansphōr and Basōr:—

Central Provinces and Berar	52,947
United Provinces	23,005
Banora State	9
Central India Agency	52,465
Total	128,516

Giving a grand total for Dōms under all names of 1,054,336.

The common name of the caste is Dōm or Dōmpā, a word of uncertain origin.

According to the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* a *Dama* is the son of a *lēṣa* and a *chāṇḍālī*, and *Dama* is perhaps the same word as *Dōma*. The *dōmas* or *dōmbas* are mentioned in Sanskrit literature as living by singing and music. The form *dōmba* seems to be the oldest one. It occurs in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (lxxvii. 33), which belongs to the sixth century, and several times in Sanskrit works hailing from Kashmir such as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Sōmadēva and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhapa. There cannot be any doubt that these *dōmbas* are identical with the Dōms, and the name of the caste is accordingly old. The base from which it is derived is perhaps onomatopœic; compare Sanskrit *ḍam*, to sound; *ḍamaru*, drum. It is probably not Aryan.

The late Professor Hermann Brockhaus of Leipzig was the first to suggest that the word *dōm* might be identical with the name *rōm*, which the European Gipsies use

to denote themselves.¹ This suggestion has been adopted by Charles G. Leland² and Sir George Grierson,³ and it may now be considered as established, after we have learnt to know that the Nawar or Zutt, a Gipsy tribe of Palestine, call themselves *Dōm* and their language *Dōmārī*.⁴

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So far as can be judged from the materials available the Dōms do not possess a dialect of their own, but use the speech of their neighbours. The words and phrases given by Abdul Ghafur belong to an argot of the same kind as that used by the Sāsīs. A similar remark applies to the Dōm dialect mentioned by Dr. Leitner. Neither his materials nor the sentences published by Abdul Ghafur are, however, sufficient for judging with certainty. According to information collected for the purposes of this Survey a dialect called Dōmrā was spoken in the following districts of Bihar and Orissa :—

Saran	9,500
Champanan	4,000
Total	13,500

These figures refer to the argot of the Magahiṃā Dōms, who derive their name Magahiṃā from Magah, Magadha, where they assert that their original home was, or from *māg*, road. They are notorious thieves and bad characters and do not cultivate or labour if they can help it. Their women only make occasional basket work as a pretence, their part being that of the spy, informer and disposer of stolen property.

The estimates of the number of speakers of Dōmrā in Saran are certainly exaggerated. At the Census of 1911 the Dōms of Saran numbered only 8,696, and only a portion of these used the Dōmrā argot. The Dōms of Champanan numbered 7,662, and the estimates for that district are perhaps correct.

As shown by the specimens which follow Dōmrā is an argot based on the current Bhōjpurī of the districts, with a tissue of Rajasthānī and Hindōstānī. To the latter belong forms such as the case suffixes, dative *kō*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, *kē* ;

¹ See A. F. Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, Vol. i. Halle, 1844, p. 42 ; Chr. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. i. Second edition, p. 409, note 1 ; Franz Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas*, viii, p. 67=Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe, Vol. xxvii. Vienna, 1810.

² *Ardenwy*, Vol. vii. 1876, p. 637.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xv. 1886, p. 15.

⁴ See E. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Language of the Nawar or Zott, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine.* Gipsy Lore Society. Monographs, No. 2. Edinburgh, 1914.

stray verbal forms such as *kihuas-uō*, to say; *tikumē-sē*, from eating; *kahā*, said; *lagā*, began, etc. Of Rājasthānī reminiscences we may note the termination *ā* in the oblique singular and in the plural of strong masculine bases; thus, *kājuā-kē du chēfā*, two sons of a man. Most verbal forms and, generally speaking, the whole grammatical system, however, are Bhōjpuri. Compare forms such as *khurē*, am; *karutī*, I did; *kohlak*, said; *kahab*, shall say; *bīruarē*, we shall become; *figuarikē*, they will see, and the common base *bar*, *bār*, to be.

As in the case of other similar argots there is a certain number of peculiar words. Such are: *banrā*, boy; *šepar*, cloth; *kājuā*, cultivator; *raguar*, dead; *tigun*, eating; *luwā*, went; *khūrkā*, horse; *gaulā*, house; *bhōth*, *chūchkā*, a Dōm; *bhūbhur*, pig; *ghōmēyā*, *dhān*, rupee; *gēm*, thief, and so forth. Commonly, however, ordinary Aryan words are used but disguised by means of various changes and additions. Occasionally we find transposition of letters, as in *ghanarphul*=*karanphul*, ear-drop. More commonly we see that a consonant is prefixed or substituted for the beginning of a word. The gutturals *k* and *kh* are used in this way; thus, *kōg*=*og*, fire; *kōhath*=*hāth*, hand; *kōhathī*=*hāthī*, elephant; *khēk*=*ek*, one; *khakāl*=*kāl*, famine; *khiṅgūr*=*sindūr*, red lead; *khikuar-kē*=*nikāl-kē*, having taken out; *khurā*, *khōrē*=*rahē*, am. It will be seen that the original word is sometimes also abbreviated and changed in other ways at the same time.

The palatals *ch* and *chh* are most frequently substituted for labials; thus, *chap-khaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *chagri*, *pagri*; *chēfā*=*bēfā*, son; *chāikunth*=*baikunth*, heaven; *chāchhri*=*machhri*, fish; *chibantu*=*ban*, forest; *chhīruarkē*=*phir*, again, etc. Sometimes, however, *ch* is also used before or instead of other sounds; compare *chabāi*=*kabāi*, ever; *chayā*=*dayā*, compassion; *chōkerkhaiā*=*naukar*, servant; *chirōṣi*=*rōṣi*, bread. *gh* is used as a substitute in words such as *ghanarphul*=*karanphul*, ear-drop; *ghasaili*=*kasaili*, betel nut; *ghashin*=*kasbi*, harlot; *ghēm*=*gēm*, thief; *ghayī*=*khasī*, goat.

n is used in several words such as *nēf*, coat; *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, field; *nūfkhā*=*gūfkhā*, cowdung; *nulā*=*julā*, shoe; *narī*=*dari*, carpet; *nēcānī*=*pānī*, water; *nahar*=*shahr*, town, etc.

Finally we find *r* in words such as *rōpi*=*ṣōpī*, hat; *rēli*=*tēli*, oilman, and so forth.

In addition to such devices the Magahiya Dōms show a marked predilection for changing their words by means of additions after them. The numerals two and following thus add an *ēm*, and we get *dulēm*, two; *tidrēm*, three; *charēm*, four; *pañchēm*, five; *chhalēm*, six; *satēm*, seven; *chafēm*, eight; *navēm*, nine; *dasēm*, ten; *bīacēm*, twenty. *Gō* is also commonly added to numerals; thus, *khēgō*, one; *dulēm-gō*, two; *salēm-gō*, hundred.

A common addition is also *tu*; thus, *gōrtu*, foot; *jaḍatu*, cold, winter; *siraktu*=*chirāgh*, lamp; *jawabtu*, an answer; *dhantu*, property; *chichartu*=*bichār*, deliberation; *baptu*=*bāp*, father; *nulēhatu*=*ṣalāh*, counsel. Compare *Sāsi tā*.

Other common additions are *khaiā*, *khaihē*, *khailā* in the Saran specimen, and *kilā*, *kilē* in the Champaran texts. Thus, *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, field; *chumkhaiā*=*chumā*, kissed; *chapkhaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *bhaikhaiā*, brother; *saṅghkhaiā*, with; *samankhaihē*=*admuē*,

before; *chaskhāē*=*pās*, towards; *bapkhailā*=*bāp*, father; *chētkhailā*, sense; *nētkhailā*=*khēt*, field; *garahilā*=*galā*, neck; *jutahilā* and *nōtahilā*=*jūtā*, shoe; *saṅgahilā*, with; *sunahilā*, heard; *samanahilā*, before. Note the frequent abbreviation of the vowel of the original word in such cases.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a very puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as *khasuaitā*=*ātā*, comes; *charsaitā*=*barsātā*, it rains; *dēghluarsē*=*diyā*, gave; *tigungharuarē*, ate, and others, the most characteristic addition is *u*. This *u* can be added alone; thus, *kīh-u-ātē*, I will say; *kar-u-lī*, I did; *keh-u-lē* and *kah-u-alak*, said; *kīr-u-wē*, to make; *kīh-u-u-ēs*, *kīh-u-as*, *kīh-u-ēsā*, said.

In other cases it is preceded by an *s*; thus, *dī-su*, gave; *lī-su*, took; *dī-su-ātā*, gives; *kha-su-ātē*, coming; *kha-su-aitā*, comes (with *kh* added in front); *kī-suv-alē*, have done; *a-su-ān*, *a-su-ānē*, *a-su-āel*, and *kha-su-ān*, came; *chal-sō-āel*, went; *dī-suc-ē*, had given; *dī-suc-ēs*, gavest; *dī-suc-as*, gave; *dī-su-alan*, gave; *dī-su-alin*, gavest.

A very common addition is *uar*; thus, *char-uar-ē*, to graze; *kah-uar-ē*, to say; *dēkh-uar-kē*, having seen, *chaf-uar* (*dish*), dividing (gave); *rah-uar-ā*, remained; *hō-war-ē*, it may be; *mar-uar-thī*, I am dying; *kīr-uar-lē*, I did; *dī-suar-tahā*, gave; *chah-uar-tarhā*, he was wishing; *rah-uar-twā*, *rah-uar-toāel*, stayed; *rah-uar-al*, was; *bach-uar-al*, was saved; *tag-uar-alē*, began; *lar-uar-lī*, I transgressed; *rah-uar-alhā*, was; *chuchh-uar-alak*, asked; *mar-uar-alas*, has beaten, and so forth; compare Kanjarī *mār*, *bār*, etc.

The *l*-suffix of many of these forms is the suffix of the past participle. It also occurs in the present in forms such as *bar-u-ala*, is; *hō-war-al*, am, art, is; *khō-war-lī*, we are; *sut-uar-al*, sleeps, and so on. Compare Bhōjpurī.

The preceding remarks only explain the most common Dōm devices for disguising common words. There are probably numerous similar ones. Of those occurring in the specimens we may mention the addition of *krā* in pronouns; thus, *khōkrē*, by thee; *khō-krē-mē-āē*, from among them, etc. It should be noted that *kh* may stand for *tū*, thou, and also for *ū*, he. In the case of verbs attention may be drawn to the frequent use of compound tenses formed with the base *fau*, to go; thus, *hō-fwā*, became; *rah-uar-fawā*, stayed; *par-fawān*, fell; *gungar-toāel*, fled; the occasional addition of *rat* in *sunā-rat*, he heard, and so forth. Further particulars will be understood from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the argot of the Magahiya Dōms of Chapra in the Saran District. The two other ones have come from Champaran and have been forwarded as illustrating the slang of the Dōmrās. The first of them is a version of the Parable, the second a short Dōm story.

[No. 48.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MAGAHİYĀ DŌM.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SABAN.

Khēk kajwā-kē du chētā barusral. Khōkrē-mē-sē chōchikā-dē
One man-of two sons were. Them-among-from younger-by
 bapkhailā-sē kihwēsā, ' hē bapkhailā, darbkhailā jō hamrā chakra
father-to said, ' O father, goods which my share
 hōwrē, sē hamē disu.' Tab u khōkrē khāpan darbkhailā
will-be, that to-me give.' Then he to-him own goods
 chaṭuar disu. Bahut din nā chitaur ko chōchikā chētā sab
deciding gave. Many days not passed that younger son all
 chijkhailā khēkthā kar-kē chari chahrē chālātwā, khaur khuhā
things together having-made far country went, and there
 chadmāsi din chitarātwā, khāpan darbkhailā khurā disuwās. Jab
in-riotousness days spent, own goods wasted gave. When
 wah sab kuchh khurā disuwē, tab us chahrē-mē charā khakāl
he all whatever wasted had-given, then that country-in big famine
 partawān, khaur wah dhaṅgāl hōtwā, khaur khuhā tawākē
fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone
 us chahrē khādmī-mē khēk admī rahmartawā, jēkrē khōkrē
that country men-in one man to-live-went, who him
 khapnē nētkhailā bhuhhur charuarē bhējnar-disuwē. Khaur khōkrē
own fields swine to-graze sent. And those
 nēdhiō-sē jinhō bhuhhur tigon-gharuarē khapnā chēt bharuarē
hunks-with which swine eating-were own belly to-fill
 chahmartarhā, khaur kaunō nā us-kō kuchh disurtahā. Tab
wishing-as, and anybody not him-to anything giving-was. Then
 khōkrē chētkhailā hōtwā, khaur khunē kahmartō, ' khamrē bapkhailā-kē
to-him sense became, and he said, ' my father-of
 chahut majurā tigonār-sē chahut pōpi hōkhmartē khaur ham
many servants eating-from much bread remained and I
 bhukhēhē maruarthi. Māi khut-kē khapnē bapkhailā pās chālātwā
with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own father near go
 khaur khōkrē kihuatē, " hē bapkhailā, kham-nē chāikunthi khultā khaur
and to-him will-say, " O father, me-by Heaven against and
 khōkrē samun-khailhē chapkhailā kiruartē; māi ohhircarke tōbār chētā
thee before sin did; I again thy son

kihus læk nai-khuré. Khamrô-ké khapné majurâ-mê-sê khâk
to-say worthy not-am. Me own servants-in-from one
 charâhar kiru.¹¹¹ Tab wah khuṭkê khapné bapkhailâ chalaṭwâ,
like make.¹¹¹ Then he having-arisen own father went.
 Chudhî paurâ nâ, khôkrê bapkhailâ dâkhuar-kê chaya kiruwâsê, khaur
For come not, his father seen-having mercy made, and
 naruar-kê us-kê garkhailî thiru-lisuwêś obumkhailî. Chêtâ-nê kbôkrê-sê
run-having him-of neck kept-took kissed. Son-by him-to
 kahâ, 'hê bapkhailâ, khamrô-kê chaikupth khulâ khaur khapné
it-was-said, 'O father, I (sic) heaven against and yourself
 samankhailî chap-khailâ kiruwatê, khaur chhîruarkê tôhâr chêtâ kahuarê
before in did, and again thy son to-say
 læk nai-khurê.' Châki bapkhailâ-nê khapné chôkar-sê kihuwêś, 'sab-sê
worthy not-am.' But father-by own servants-to said, 'all-than
 khachhâ tepar khiluar-kê chahrâ-dimwêś, khôkrê kôhath aṅguṭhî khaur
good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand ring and
 pair-mî nuta pahinô, aur ham tikunarkê khaur nusi biruarb,
feet-on shoes put-on, and we eating and merry let-become,
 kihuat-biruaral hamâr chêtâ ruarê-barâhar rahuâra, phîr jîwarṭwâ;
because my son dead-like was, again alive-went;
 chulâṭwâ, phîr chîluarṭwâ.' Tab wê khânand kiruwar liguwârê.
lost-went, again met-went.' Then they merriment to-make began.

Khôkar charka chêtâ nêtkhailâ-mê biruaral. Khaur chalâ-khasuâtê
His big son fields-in was. And going-coming
 niarkhailê khasân, tab jakhailî khaur nachard khawâj sunârat. Khaur
near came, then music and dancing sound heard. And
 khu khapné chôkarkhailâ-mê-sê kbôk-kê chachhâ chôlâwat chuchhuartê khi,
he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that,
 'kâ hawâral?' Khar khôkrê-sê kihua, 'khapné bhaikhailî asuânê,
'what becoming-is?' He him-to said, 'yourself-of brother came,
 khaur tôhâr bapkhailâ niman tîgunâr wrêśâ khêkhôjkhailâ-sê ki usê
and thy father good dinner has-given because that him
 khachhâ chauarêśâ.' Châki khôkrê nîwân biruaral khaur chîtar nâ tawô.
well got.' But he angry became and inside not came.
 Khôkrê khôkar bapkhailâ chahri asuâ-kê ohanânê lagâ.
Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonstrate began.
 Khôkrê bapkhailâ-kê jawabtu dēghluarê kē, 'dêkhuarê, maî bahut
He father-to answer gave that, 'see, I many
 chariê-sê khôkri sêvkhailî kiruartê, khaur chal-bî khô-kâ hukumkhailî
years-from thy service did, and ever thy order

nā taruarli. Khar khōkrē hamrē kahikhaiñ khāk nakri na
 not transgressed. And thou to-me ever one goat not
 disowēs kō khapnē chit saṅghaiñ khānand kirust hiraṣal. Chāki
 gnest that own friends with merriment making might-be. But
 khāpan ē chētā jēsā khapnē sab-khaiñ dārbkhaiñ tigan-ṣawā jaisō
 own this son who your-own all-whatever goods eating-went when
 kharuān tyō-hī khap-nē khōkrē khachhā tikunār kiruṣai.
 came then-indeed yourself-by for-him good dinner have-made.
 Bapkhailā khōkrē-sē kihuwēs, 'hō chētā, tu sab din hamrē saṅghaiñ,
 Father him-to said, 'O son, thou all days me with,
 khar kichhū khamār hai, sō sab tōr hawwār. Chāki khānand
 and anything mine is, that all thing is. But joy
 kiruwē khar nōl hōtwā khachhā thā kākē-ki yah tōr bhāikhaiñ
 to-make and merry to-be good was because this thy brother
 ruhārē barābar rahmarā, phir jiwartwā; chulātwā, phir miluwartwā.
 dead like was, again alive-went; lost-went, again met-went.'

[No. 49.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DOMRĀ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khēk ādmī-kē dukēm-gō chētā rahuarē. Chhōtkā chētā kahlak
One man-of two sons were. Younger son said
 khapnā baptu-sē, 'hē baptu, ōban chubī hamār chakhrā disu-disu.'
own father-to, 'O father, rupees piece our share give.'
 Tab chaṭuar disu. Chahu dīn nā bituaral ki khapnā chakhrā chubī
Then deciding gave. Many days not passed that own share piece
 lisu-kē dūr destu chaltoāel ō khapnā randatn-sē sab khurā disu.
taking distant country went and own misconduct-by all squandered gave.
 Tab u destu-mē khakaltu paruar-toāel, u naklif-mē hō-toāel.
Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell.
 Khēhu destu-mē khēgō ādmī-kē hiā rahuar-toāel, bhumbhur charuarē
That country-in one man-of with living-became, swine for-lending
 lisu-toāel-narāel. Kō jī bhumbhur tikunē khēhu randwā tikunē
was-deputed. Husks which swine ate that rascal to-eat
 chahuarē; khōkrākē kēu nā disuē kiebhūē. Khōkrā khakil bhauaral,
wished; him-to anybody not gave anything. To-him sense came,
 u kahuaral, 'hamarā baptu kihā chijurā-kē tikunē-sē bahit nōṭi
he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread
 bachuaral, ham bhukhalē rugtā-nī. Khapnā baptu-kē niar toāeh
is-saved, I with-hunger dying-am. Own father-of near will-go
 khunkū-sē kahab ki, "ham Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō baptu-kē
him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of
 samanahilē paptu karūli; ham tōhār chētā kahāwē lāek na barūli;
before sin did; I thy son to-be-called fit not became;
 hamrā-kē chijurā māṣl januarī." ' Khuṭuar-kē apnā baptu-kē niar
me servant like consider." ' Arisen-having own father-of near
 toāilin. Chētā-kē thiguar-kē baptu-kē chāyā laguaral, daruar-kē
went. Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having
 garahilā thiru-kē chumahilā lisualak. Chētā-nō kahulak, 'hē baptu,
neck embraced-having kisses took. Son-by said, 'O father,
 Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē paptu kirūli; chētā kihūē
God-of before and of-thee before sin did; son to-say

lāek nā birualī.' Bapto apnā nōkarhilā-sē kihualak kī, 'chadhiā tēpar
fit not am.' *Father own servants-to said that, 'good clothes*
nikalwā-kē chētā-kē chenḥāō, ō kichāth-mē khōḡguthī an gōrtu-mē nōtahilā
taking-out son-to put-on, and hand-on ring and feet-on shoes
chenḥāō; ō ham tikunī khushahilā karuārī; hamār chētā lugail
put-on; and we shall-eat merry shall-make; my son dead
rahuaralhā, jītnar-tōāel; nūlā tōāel rahualhā, ab miluar-tōāel.' U-lōg
was, living-became; lost gone was, now found-became.' They
khushahilā hō-tōāel.
merry became.

Khō-kar nētkā chētā khētū-mē rahuaral. Khētū-mē-sē apnā ḡaulō
His big son field-in was. Field-in-from own house
chalsoāel, nachtu howarail chājā chējnarail sanahilā. Apr nōkarhilā-sē
went, dancing going-on music beating heard. And servant-from
chōlā-kē chēchmaralak, 'kā hōwaralē?' Khun-kā-sē kehulō kī,
called-having asked, 'what is-going-on?' Him-to said that,
'khapnē-kē bhahilā suāel baruaralē; khapnē-kē bapto chadhiā tikunē-kē
'*self-of brother arrived has-become; self-of father big eating-for*
karuaralē, khun-kā-kē chinuman pāruaralē-bārē.' Tab u nūsiā
made-has, because safe-and-sound found-has.' Then he angry

hō-tōāel ō ḡaul-mē rā tōāel. Bapto ḡaul-sē klīkalsuāel
becoming-went and house-in not went. Father house-from going-out-came
khō-kā-kē chināwē laguaralē. Tab u bapto-kē jababtu disualan, 'ham
him-to to-entreat began. Then he father-to answer gave, 'I
khapnē-kē katā dintu-sē sōwahilā kiraali. Kabhī khapnē-kē chachan
self-of how-many days-from service did. Eer self-of word
nā khutarali. Mudā khumrā-kē khēgō chēthru nā disu kē khapnā
not transgressed. Eer me-to one kid not gave that men

dōstu-kē sāḡahilā musī kartī. Bākī ḡhashin-kē sāḡahilā
friends-of in-company merry might-make. But harlots-of in-company

rāur i chētā sab dhantu khurā disu, to-i tab-hī suāel, tab-hī
your-Honour's this son all wealth spent gave, he then came, then
nīmat chadhiā mōtikā chana-kē tihunē-kē disualin.' Bapto
good big feast having-prepared eating-for you-gone.' The-father

khō-kā-sē kihulak kī, 'chētā, hamar sāthi tu khamēsē baruālā, sē
him-to said that, 'son, me with thou always art, what
haruālē hamar, sē tōhrē biruaralē. Bākī khushahilā kirakē chahuaral,
is mine, that thing is. But merry to-make it-was-wanted,

khuarē-kē tōr bhahilā rōguar tōāel, phēr jīnar tōāel; nūlā tōāel rahuaral,
because thy brother dead went, again alive went; lost gone was,
phēr milual tōāel.
again found went.'

[No. 50.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DÔMRĀ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khak rajahilā rahuarō. - Khō-krē dhantu pañchēm dhēm gimāwō
One rājā was. His property five thieves to-steal
 gahuaral. Gimātē gimātē narichh hō toāel. Pañchēmu
went. Stealing stealing morning becoming went. Five
 khāpus-mē nalēhatu chioharatu kirialak. 'ah na jantu bachuari.
selves-among counsel deliberation made, 'now not living-being will-be-saved.
 Naṭiā lisu, khōhi par dhantu thirū, tēpar churdā lēkhā khōphāwa disu.
Bed bring, that on property place, cloth corpse likeness covering give.
 Charēmu-gōrū chārū chaurā kluṭā-kē kandhatu-par thirū disu. Khēk
Four-of-us four legs having-lifted shoulders-on place give. One
 ādmī nuṭhā-mē kīcha kōhāth-mē thirū lisu, kandhatu-par nudār thirū
man cowering-in fire hand-in place take, shoulder-on hoe place
 lisu.' Khaisanī kirū-kē pañchēmō gēm gaṅgar toāel.
take.' Thus having-done five thieves escaping went.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a king, and five thieves came to steal his property. While they were thus occupied the morning came. The five thieves began to consult among themselves. 'Now none of us will escape. Let us take a bed and put the stolen property on it. Then let us put a cloth over the property as if it were a corpse. Let four of us take the bed at its four legs and put it on our shoulders. Let the fifth one take fire and cowering in his hand and put a hoe on his shoulder.' Having done so all five thieves escaped.

MALĀR.

The Malārs are a wandering caste of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Mr. H. Streatfeild writes of them in the Report of the 1901 Census of Bengal :—

'They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malār was the elder brother of the original Orāṣ, and that, having accidentally discovered, while warming himself by a fire one cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever; small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons, and especially elaborately ornamental *poilas* or seer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habits they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malārs permanently settled in a Mundā village, speaking Mundārī and working as cultivators, but a regular Malār in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends of any ancestral home, and bury their dead in the village where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nāgpuriā.'

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur at the last Census of 1901¹ was as follows :—

Ranchi	976
Palaman	125
Manbhum	824
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	384
TOTAL	2,309

In addition to these 9 Malārs were returned from the Andamans.

Mr. Streatfeild has been good enough to send me a short Malār vocabulary. It fully bears out his statement that the language of the Malārs is a slang based on Nāgpuriā. Thus we find the plural suffix *man* in *bī-man*, these; *bū-man*, those; the genitive suffixes *kar* and *kēr* in forms such as *bū-kar*, his; *bū-man-kēr*, their; verbal forms such as *ṭuai-raukhis*, going wast, wentest; *ṭualak*, he has gone; *ṭuabal*, we shall go; *ṭuabā*, you will go; *ṭuabai*, they will go, and so on. So far as can be seen from the scanty materials the inflexional system is the same as in Nāgpuriā throughout. The vocabulary also is the same as in Nāgpuriā though there are several peculiar words such as *kurmur*, head; *khaut*, house; *khulā*, husband; *chēcās*, hair; *ṭuai*, going; *ṭōmā*, neck; *ḍhaparehū*, forehead; *ḍharjmā*, liver; *tutkā*, temples; *ḍurgā*, old man; *nētrai*, blood; *nōhkā*, man; *nōhkin*, woman, wife; *nōph*, breast; *pipinmī*, eyelid; *baitinī*, food; *ladarmī*, stomach; *luluha*, wrist; *supulmī*, foot. In other cases ordinary words are disguised in various ways. In words such as *chēḍmā=chamrā*, skin; *kandpaḥnī=kanpaḥi*, temples; *tarmū=tālū*, palate; *baḥhkhū=bāzū*, upper arm; *mīsi=mūchh*, moustache, we find sporadic instances of slight changes of various kinds within the words. The most common way of disguising words is by adding consonants and syllables in front or at the end, just as in numerous other argots.

¹ They do not appear to have been recorded in 1911.

A *k* is prefixed in words such as *kōig*=*āg*, fire; *Kirāuchi*, *Rānchi*; *kōhāt*=*hāth*, forearm; *kōhōr*=*hār*, bone.

Kk is added in the front of some words; thus, *khaṅgur*, finger; *khōīkh*=*āikh*, eye; *khamrē*=*hamrē*, we; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; *khīrāī*=*rāpī*, widow.

Ch and *chh* are, as usual, prefixed to or substituted for labials; thus, *chibhāi*, brother; *chhētā*=*bētā*, son.

Dh is used in words such as *dhēr*, a seer.

N is used in a similar way in *nail*=*bhail*, bullock.

B is prefixed in pronouns and in the numeral 'one'; thus, *bī*, this; *bū*, that; *bau*, yonder; *bēk*, one.

R is substituted for a *p* in *rāuchlū*=*pāch*, five; *rīth*=*pith*, back; *rōtkai*=*pēt*, belly; and *l* has been used instead of *n* in *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel.

In *chahinbahin*, sister, the whole word has been prefixed after substituting a *ch* for the initial *b*.

In other cases words are disguised by means of various additions at the end. Such additions are:—

kai or *khai*, in *rindikai*, veranda; *rōtkai*=*pēt*, belly; *durkhai*=*duār*, door. *Kh* alone is added in *raukhō*, I was. A suffix *khulā* occurs in *dāntkhulā*=*dāt*, tooth.

chū is a very common addition; thus, *gāchū*=*gāl*, cheek; *jāngchū*=*jāngh*, thigh; *jibchū*=*jibh*, tongue; *bāpchū*=*bāp*, father, and so forth.

chh is added in *mōrchhā*, my; *tōrchhā*, thy; cf. *mōēchā*, I; *tōēchā*, thou.

durā has been suffixed in *kandurā*, ear.

mā, *mī*, occurs in *khaparmā*=*khaprā*, tiles; *thēhunmā*=*thēvni*, knee; *bhaumā*=*bhaū*, brow; *pakhurmā*=*pakhaurā*, shoulder; *barāīmi*=*rih*, backbone; *ērmi*=*ērī*, heel; *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel, etc.

r has been added in *nākūrā*=*nāk*, nose; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; cf. also *kar* in verbs such as *tapuarek*, to warm oneself; *foruarek*, to light a fire; *lipuarek*, to whitewash.

l is suffixed in *kharchul*=*karachhā*, ladle (also Hindi); *dōl*, two, and so forth.

Farther details may be ascertained from the short vocabulary which follows:—

Numerals.

One	<i>bēk</i> (<i>bēknōt</i> = <i>ēk-tō</i>)	Eight	<i>khāstā</i>
Two	<i>dōl</i> , <i>dōlnōt</i>	Nine	<i>naulū</i>
Three	<i>tīnlū</i>	Ten	<i>dastlū</i>
Four	<i>chāirtlū</i>	Eleven	<i>gārmō</i>
Five	<i>rāuchlū</i>	Nineteen	<i>onāischū</i>
Six	<i>chaulū</i>	Twenty	<i>bīschū</i> , <i>bēk kōrmī</i>
Seven	<i>nātlū</i>	Forty	<i>dōl kōrmī</i>

Pronouns.

I	<i>mōēcha</i>	Your	<i>tohōrmēkēr</i>
My	<i>mōrchhā</i>	He, that	<i>bū</i>
We	<i>khamarē</i> , <i>khamarmē</i>	His	<i>bū-kar</i>
Our	<i>khamrēkēr</i> , <i>khamar-mēkēr</i>	They	<i>būman</i>
Thou	<i>tōēchā</i>	Their	<i>būmankēr</i>
Thy	<i>tōrchhā</i>	This	<i>bī</i>
You	<i>tohōrmē</i>	Yonder	<i>bau</i>

Human beings.

Man	<i>nôhkā</i>	Father	<i>bāpohū</i>
Woman	<i>nôhkin</i>	Mother	<i>maichū</i>
Old man	<i>durgū</i>	Son	<i>chhēsā</i>
Old woman	<i>durgī</i>	Daughter	<i>chhēfī</i>
Boy	<i>chōrmā</i>	Brother	<i>chibhāi</i>
Girl	<i>chōrmī</i>	Sister	<i>chahin-bahin</i>
Husband	<i>khulsā</i>	Widower	<i>khirāyā</i>
Wife	<i>nôhkin</i>	Widow	<i>khirāyī</i>

Parts of the body.

Head	<i>kurmur</i>	Thumb	<i>tēpā khangur</i>
Hair	<i>chēwās</i>	Mid finger	<i>māj khangur</i>
Forehead	<i>dhaparchū</i>	Little finger	<i>kanī khangur</i>
Temples	<i>kandpathni, tatkā</i>	Chest	<i>chhātmī</i>
Eye	<i>khōīkh</i>	Breast	<i>nōph</i>
Pupil	<i>rajnā</i>	Back	<i>rīh</i>
Eye-brow	<i>bhaumā</i>	Side	<i>dāckharī</i>
Eyelid	<i>pipinmī</i>	Stomach	<i>ladarmī; rōskai</i>
Eyelashes	<i>pipinmī chēwās</i>	Navel	<i>lāmbhmī</i>
Cheek	<i>gālohū</i>	Skin	<i>chēōrmā</i>
Ear	<i>kāndurā</i>	Tendon	<i>sīrchū</i>
Nose	<i>nākurā</i>	Flesh	<i>khīmsār</i>
Mouth	<i>khumhār</i>	Liver	<i>dharmā</i>
Lip	<i>ōī</i>	Lungs	<i>pokosmā</i>
Tooth	<i>dānthkulā</i>	Heart	<i>kamalchū</i>
Tongue	<i>jibchū</i>	Bile	<i>pitchū</i>
Palate	<i>tarmā</i>	Bowels	<i>nanchū pōfmanā</i>
Jaw-bone	<i>chauhmūā</i>	Blood	<i>nētrai</i>
Beard	<i>dārhi</i>	Bone	<i>kōhōr</i>
Moustache	<i>misi</i>	Ribs	<i>rañjermā</i>
Neck	<i>fojmā</i>	Backbone	<i>barārmī</i>
Shoulder	<i>pakhurmā</i>	Thigh	<i>jāngchū</i>
Upper arm	<i>bāichhū</i>	Knee	<i>thēhunmā</i>
Fore-arm	<i>kōkhāt</i>	Ankle	<i>ghutū</i>
Wrist	<i>luluha</i>	Foot	<i>supulmī</i>
Palm of hand	<i>tarhāt</i>	Sole of foot	<i>tarpanā</i>
Finger	<i>khangur</i>		

House and furniture.

House	<i>khaul</i>	Cooking pot	<i>kōhjan</i>
Tiles	<i>khaparmā</i>	Earthen pot for carrying water	<i>nōgair</i>
Wall	<i>bhitchū</i>	Ladle	<i>kharchul</i>
Door	<i>durkhai</i>	Fire	<i>kōig</i>
Space in front of house	<i>kōngēnā</i>	Ashes	<i>rākhohū</i>
Veranda	<i>rindikai</i>	Broom	<i>cheurhan</i>

Verbs.

to extinguish	<i>nījhuarek</i>	Thou goest	<i>tuathiz</i>
to light a fire	<i>jorūarek</i>	He goes	<i>tuatakulis</i>
to sweep	<i>cheurhaek</i>	We go	<i>tuati</i>
to warm oneself	<i>tapuarek</i>	You go	<i>tuatū</i>
to whitewash	<i>lipuarek</i>	They go	<i>tuathai</i>
I go	<i>tuathō</i>		

QAṢĀĪ.

QAṣāī or Qaṣīb is the name of the butcher caste. The word is derived from Arabic *qaṣab*, to cut. The number of Qaṣāīs returned at the Census of 1901¹ was 369,533, distributed as follows :—

Name.	Number.
Ajmer	66
Andamans	5
Assam	23
Baluchistan	255
Bengal	11,003
Berar	218
Bombay	24,986
Central Provinces	206
Panjab	125,644
United Provinces	184,150
Daroda	851
Central India	918
Hyderabad	2
Kashmir	824
Rajputana	20,202
TOTAL	369,533

The Qaṣāīs are commonly separated into two endogamous sub-castes, one of which kill cows and buffaloes, while the other only kill goats. In the Panjab the former call themselves *bhakkar-sikkhū*, cow killers, and the latter *meky-sikkhū*, goat killers, or simply *sikkhū*. The latter are mostly Hindūs, the former Muhammadans of the Sunnī sect.

The Qaṣāīs seem to have a trade language of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Qaṣāīyō-ki Farsī was reported to be spoken by 2,700 persons in the Karnal District. Dr. T. Grahame Bailey has given some information about the secret language of those Qaṣāīs of the Panjab who do not kill cows.

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BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAME, D.D.—*The Secret Words of the Qaṣāī (Kasāī)*. In "Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas," pp. 273ff. *Asiatic Society Monographs*, Vol. xvii. London, 1920. (A Reprint of the preceding.)

Specimens of Qaṣāī have been received from Karnal and also from the Belgaum District. The Qaṣāīs of Karnal, who numbered 5,794 at the 1901 Census, are all Muhammadans. The dialect illustrated by the specimens is of the same kind as the Qaṣāī described by Dr. Bailey. The materials received from Belgaum are stated to illustrate the language of the cow-killing Qaṣāīs. It agrees with the dialect of the Karnal Qaṣāīs in so many points that the two can safely be described as one and the same form of speech, which is an argot based on Hindōstānī. In Karnal we also find Panjābī forms such as *mazdūrā-mē*, amongst the servants. In the Belgaum specimens the dialect is much mixed with

¹ No Qaṣāīs were recorded under that name in 1911.

Dravidian, and it is probably due to this influence that the case of the agent has been discarded and that the sense of the actual meaning of some verbal forms has been weakened. Forms such as *thārtāū*, am, also occur in the second and third persons in addition to *thārtai*, art, is, and *ghāduṅgō*, I shall beat, is said to be used in all persons and numbers.

The orthography of the specimens does not seem to be consistent. Thus the word *tip*, see, which is written with a cerebral / by Dr. Bailey and in the Belgaum specimens, occurs as *tīp* in the Karnal version of the Parable. The same text gives *dēvarnā*, to give, while the second Karnal specimen uses *lēvarnā*, to take, with a cerebral ṛ. The sound noted *th* is probably the sound of *th* in English "think." It had, however, been written *th* in a Nāgarī transcript which accompanied the Karnal texts. In *thūr-nā*, eat, this *th* seems to represent an *ṭ*; compare *ṣūḍ*, eat, in the Belgaum list and *ṣhūḍnā*, *ṣhūrṇā*, to eat, to drink, in the vocabulary published by Dr. Bailey. The same is the case in *this*, six, where Dr. Bailey has *this*; compare Arabic *sids*.

The peculiar appearance of the Qasāī argot is, to a great extent, due to the extensive use of strange words. As in the Kanjari dialect of Belgaum many of the numerals are Arabic. Thus, *dhallā* (Bailey *talā*), three, Arabic *thalāth*; *arbā*, four, Arabic 'arba'; *khammas*, Belgaum *khammīs*, Bailey *khammas*, five, Arabic *khamīs*; *thīs*, Bailey *this*, six, Arabic *sids*; *āsir*, ten, Arabic 'ashar.

Numerous other peculiar words occur in the specimens and in Dr. Bailey's List. Such are *afāt*, put; *akēl*, one (Hindostānī *akēlā*, alone); *buṭ*, father, or, according to Dr. Bailey, a Jāt; *baṭlā*, rupee; *bhakkor*, cow; *bigarnā* or *bigharnā*, to die (cf. Hindostānī *bigarnā*?); *chīlknī*, ring (cf. Hindostānī *chīlaknā*, to glitter); *chishmī*, application; *chuskā*, interest; *chabine*, tooth; *chhanakā*, boy; *dusarnā*, to say (Belgaum, compare the Kanjari dialect of the district); *gaunā*, to get; *gaunā*, foot (in Belgaum *gudāle*; in the Karnal specimens *gaunā* is also used with the meaning of 'hand'); *ghārṇā*, *ghāḍnā*, to beat, to loose; *gaimb*, thief (Bailey); *hakūk*, swine (Karnal); *hajīb*, hnd (Belgaum); *hap-kē-hap* (for *sab-ke-sab*), all together; *hiḍap*, take; *kachēlā* (Belgaum), *kadrā* (Karnal), son (compare *bachchā*?); *kanēlī*, bread (Bailey *khadēlī*, *khanēlī*); *kajilī*, afternoon; *kahilā* (Karnal), *kailā* (Belgaum), rupee; *kasnā*, to pay (perhaps English 'cash'); *kid*, give (Belgaum, compare Tamil *koḍu*); *khasṭā*, property; *khīlas* (Karnal), *khilsā* (Belgaum), belly; *khēḍā*, village (Belgaum, Kanarese *khēḍā*); *khū*, go; *khūm*, word, noise; *khunsā*, starving; *lāgwārē* (Karnal), hundred; *mēknī*, goat; *minjālī*, tongue; *nakāt*, young, destitute, lost, angry (according to Dr. Bailey the meaning of this word is 'bad,' 'worthless'; it is used in different senses in the first specimen); *nakātī*, sin; *nand* (Karnal), *nann* (Belgaum), house; *nand*, water (Bailey); *nhāt*, run; *nirgā*, water (Belgaum); *pādā*, hull; *phēkaṇī*, nose; *sihām*, share; *ṣēbit*, good; *subak*, younger brother (Belgaum); *subūkidā*, man (Belgaum); *suwālā*, good (Belgaum); *ṣūḍ*, eat; *thāiknā*, to become, to gather; *thārtā*, being; *thūr*, eat; *thākanā*, hundred (Belgaum); *tīp*, see; *ṭuluk*, sleep; *ukā*, go away, and so forth.

In comparison with this extensive use of peculiar words, the disguising of common ones by means of additions in front or at the end plays a much smaller rôle in Qasāī.

Among prefixed elements we may note *k* in *kāndhā*, a Hindū (Bailey); *jh* in *jhōrā*=*thōrā*; *m* in *māḍ*, village, cf. *Sāsī nād*; *mīh*, twenty, cf. *bis*; and *l* in *līprā*, cloth, cf. Hindōstānī *kaprā*; *land* and *nand*, house.

Of final additions I have found *k* in *bulkā*, said; *t* in *latōḥā*, hand; *kannōṭyā*, ear; *ṇ* in *akōṇyā*, eye; *l* in *bandāl*, bind; *war* in *āwar*, come; *dāwar*, give, etc.; *wāḍ* in *baṭwāḍ*, sit; *hōlcāḍ*, call; *sunivāḍ*, hear, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable and the second a Qasāi version of a statement in court, both received from the Karnal District. The third is a popular tale in the dialect of the cow-killing Qasāis of Belgaum. The Standard List of Words and Sentences from Belgaum will be found below on pp. 181ff.

[No. 51.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀL.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Akēl buṭ-kā jāur kadrē thē. Nakāt kadrē-nē buṭ-sē bulkā
One father-of two sons were. Young son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'ai buṭ, khastē-kā sīhām jō mujhē dēwar-nā hai dēwar-dē.
that, 'O father, property-of share which to-me to-be-given is giving-give.'
 Phir khastē unhē dēwar-diyā. Jhōrā dīn pichhē nakāt kadrā
Then property to-them giving-was-given. Few days after younger son
 hap-kē-hap khastē lēwar-kē dūr-kē mulk-mē uks-gayā. Wahā
all property having-taken distant country-to going-away-went. There
 thaik-kar apnē khastē kakāyat-mē upā diyē. Jab sārā uksā
having-gone own property luxury-in wasting was-given. When all spent
 chukā us mulk-mē khunsē bighar-nē lagē, aur wō kadrā nakāt
finished that country-in hungering to-die began, and that son low
 hōnē lagā. Phir us mulk-kē akēl jēdlē-kē thaik gayā. Jēdlē-nē
to-be began. Then that country-of one rich-of near went. Rich-one-by
 kadrē-kō hakūk charānē-kō uksāyā. Aur wō hakūk-kē bachē hōē
son acine feeding-for was-sent-away. And he acine-of left been
 gaunō-sē apnā khilā jēdlā karnā chāhtā thā, ak kōi usē
refuse-with own belly good to-make wishing was, but anybody to-him
 dēwarē nā thā. Phir jēd hōkar khumyāyā, 'mērō buṭ-kē
giving not was. Again sensible having-become said, 'my father-of
 bahut-sē mazdūrō-kō kanēhī hai, aur māī khunsā bighrī. Māī uks-kar
many servants-to bread is, and I hungering die. I having-risen
 apnē buṭ-kē pās thaikūgā aur us-sē bulkūgā ki, "ai buṭ, māī-nē
own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 āsmān-kā aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur ab is lāik nahī
heaven-of and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and now this fit not
 ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū. Mujhē apnē mazdūrō-mē-sē akēl jaisā
that thy son called shall-go. Me own servants-in-from one like
 banā." Tab uks-kar apnē buṭ-kē pās uks-gayā. Aur wōh
make." Then having-gone-away own father-of near went. And he
 dūr thā ki us-kō tīp-kar us-kē buṭ-kō rahm āyā, aur uks-kar
far was that him having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-gone

galē lagāyā aur bahut chumā. Kadrē-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'ai neck was-clasped and much kissed. Son-by to-him it-was-said that, 'O but, āsmān aur tērē huzūr nakāti kī hai, aur is kābil nāhl father, heaven and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and this fit not kī tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū.' But-nē apnē naukṛō-kō khumyāyā that thy son called shall-go.' Father-by own servants-to it-was-said kē, 'jēdlē jēdlē liprē lēwar-lāo aur usē dēwar-dō; aur kadrē-kē that, 'good good clothes taking-take and him giving-give; and son-of gaunē-mē chilkni dēwar-dō aur gaunā-mē gauniyā dēwar-dō. Aur ham hand-on ring giving-give and feet-on shoes giving-give. And we thūrē aur jēdlē hō-jāē. kyū-kī yah mērā kadrā bighrā thā, may-eat and well becoming-may-go, because this my son dead was, ab jiyā hai; nakāt hō-gayā thā, ab āwarā hai.' Tab wōh now alive is; lost become-gone was, now come is.' Then they jēd hōnē lagē. merry to-be began.

Aur us-kā jēdlā kadrā khēt-mē thā. Jab land-kē pās āwarā, And his big son field-in was. When house-of near came, gānē aur nāchnē-kī khūm sunī. Tab akēl naukar-kō khumyāyā singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one servant-to it-was-said kī, 'yah kiyā hai?' Us-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'tērā bhāī that, 'this what is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother uks-āyā hai, aur tērē but-nē kanēli thūrwāi hai, is-liyē usē back-come is, and thy father-by bread caused-to-be-eaten is, this-for him jēdlā tipā.' Us-nē nakāt hō-kar nā ohāhā kī nand-mē icell saw.' Him-by angry having-become not wished that house-in āwarē. Tab us-kō but-nē land-sē uks-kar kadrē-kō jēdlā kiyā. may-go. Then his father-by house-from having-gone-out son icell made. Kadrē-nē but-sē khumyāyā, 'tip, itnē baras-sē maī tēri khidmat Son-by father-to it-was-said, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service kartā hū, aur kabhī tērē bulk-kō nā uksāyā; par taī-nē kabhī doing am, and ever thy word not was-reversed; but thee-by ever akēl mēknī-kā kadrā nā dēwar-diya kī apnē dōstō-sē jēdlā one goat-of young not giving-was-given that own friends-with merry hū; aur jab tērā yah kadrā āwarā, jīs-nē tērā khastā mukāt-mē might-be; and when thy this son came, whom-by thy property evil-in jhōrā kiyā, taī-nē us-kō liyē bārī kanēli kī.' teased was-made, thee-by him-of for-the-sake big dinner was-made.'

Us-nē us-kō khumyāyā, 'ai kadrē, tū sadā mērē pās hai, aur Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art, and

jō-kuchh mērā hai, sō tērā hai. Par jēdlā hōnā lazim thā,
whatever mine is, that thine is. But merry to-become proper was,
 kyū-ki yah tērā bhāi bighrā thā, sō jiya hai; aur nakāt hō
because this thy brother dead was, he alive is; and bad having-become
 gayā thā, sō ab āwarā hai.
gone was, he now come is.

[No. 52.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀL.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Binjhaul māḍ sudhitā thā. Jāṭaul-kē birādar aur ham
Binjhaul village being-sold was. Jāṭaul-of brothers and we
 hap-kē-hap akāl jagah thaikē. Binjhaul-mē udhar-sē wuh āwarē,
all one place became. Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,
 aur idhar-sā ham khis-āē. Āpas-mē khām kari ki
and this-side-from we again-went. Selves-among word was-made that
 māḍ lēwarā chāhiyē. Jāṭaulwālā-nē khumā karā ki, 'mīh
village to-take is-wanted. Jāṭaul-people-by word was-made that, 'twenty
 biswā-kē kahilē jītē hō rabāē sāl-lī hakāyat-sē tum dēwar-dō,
biswā-of rupees as-many-as are four years-of promise-on you giving-give,
 aur hamāri taraf-kō bhī batlē tum kas-dō. Un-kā chuskā aur
and our side-of also rupees you pay. Them-of interest and
 kahilē rabāē sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē. Thiswē mahinē chuskā kas-diyā
rupees four years-in giving-shall-give. Six months interest paid
 karēgē.' Hap-kē-hap-nē akāl jagah thaik-kar khām kari.
shall-make.' All-by one place having-gathered word was-made.
 Ham mand-sē khammas lāgwārā batlē lēkar rabāewē din
We home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day
 sāl-kē batlē kas-nē hē. Manījar sāhib-kē yahā
earnest-money-of money to-pay came. Manager Sahib-of in-presence
 sāl-kē batlē kas diyē. Hakāyat kari ki, 'āsar
earnest-money-of money paid was-given. Promise, was-made that, 'ten
 aglē mīh din-mē āwar-kar bēwā lēwar liyō. Sārhē
and twenty days-in having-come information taking take. With-one-half
 mīh hazār batlē-mē tum-kō māḍ dēwar-dēgē.' Manījar-nē
twenty thousand rupees-for you-to village giving-shall-give.' Manager-by
 khumā karā. 'hamārā jādā vilāyat-mē thaikā hai. Māḍ-kē sōdh
word was-made, 'our master Europe-in seated is. Village-of sale
 dōnē-kā āsar aglē mīh din mē khabar lēwar-liyō.' Mīh
giving-of ten and twenty days in information taking-take.' Twenty
 aglē āsar din-mē Bērī-kē ilāqā-kē kādā-nē purē akāl mīh
and ten days-in Beri-of district-of banyā-by full one twenty

hazār-mē māḍ lēwarnē-ki chishmī dī. Hamē khabar
thousand-for village taking-of application was-given. To-us information
 hul ki akāl Bērī-kā kādū māḍ lēwartā hai. Ham khammas
became that one Bērī-of banyā village taking is. We five
 lūgwārē batlō sāt-kē kas-āē. Aisi hakāyat na
hundred rupees earnest-money-of paying-came. Such matter not
 hōwē, māḍ bhi gaunē na lagē aur kahilē bhi
should-happen, village also to-get not should-succeed and money also
 ghāpē jāwē. Hap-kē-hap khumā kar-kē Bērī khis-gāē. Bērī
lost should-go. All-together word having-made Bērī again-went. Bērī
 thāik-kar hap-kē-hap-kō thāikā-kar khumā kiya, 'tū hamārē
reaching all having-gathered word was-made, 'you our
 birādar. Kādū tumhārā hai, us-nē māḍ lēwarnā thāp liya hai.
brother. Banyā yours is, him-by village to-take resolve taken is.
 Ham Jāṭul-sē awarē hai. Bhāichārē-sē kādū-kō khunyo
We Jāṭul-from come are. Brotherhood-on-account-of banyā-to say
 ki māḍ na lēwarē. Kādū-sē khumā karā, 'tū hamārā.
that village not should-take. Banyā-to word was-made, 'thou our
 lālā hai. Hamārī hakāyat mān-lē; hamārē birādrā-kō māḍ
respected-sir art. Our request obey; our brothers-to village
 lēwarnē dē. Kādū hakāyat mān gayā, māḍ lēwarnē-sē khis
to-take give. Banyā request heeding went, village taking-from back
 gayā. Ham birādrā-nē māḍ lēwar-liyā.
went. We brother-by village taking-was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Binjhaul village was going to be sold. We and our brothers in Jataul came together. They came from there and we from here to Binjhaul, and we agreed to buy the village. The Jataul people said, 'pay the price which may be fixed for twenty *hiswā*¹; you might undertake to pay in four years and also our share of the money. In four years we shall refund you the money with interest, and we shall pay interest every six months.' We had all gathered in one place and consulted, and four days afterwards we came to pay five hundred rupees as earnest-money, and we paid them in the presence of the manager. He told us to come back in a month and get information, and that he might let us have the village for thirty thousand rupees. 'My master,' he said, 'is in Europe. You may get his decision about the sale in a month.' After a month a Banyā² of the Beri District made an application for getting the village at a price of twenty thousand rupees, and we were informed that the Banyā was going to buy it. We had paid five hundred rupees in earnest-money and it would be too bad not to get the village and also to lose our money. We then consulted and went to Beri, and then we all came together and said, 'you are our brothers. There is a Banyā amongst you, and he has resolved to buy the village. We have now come from Jataul. For the sake of our kinship tell the Banyā not to buy the village.' They said to him, 'you are our respected master; listen to our words and let our brothers have the village.' The Banyā took notice of their request and withdrew from the business. Then we brothers got the village.

¹ A *hiswā* is the twentieth part of a *bigā*.

² The word *bāḍā*, here translated 'Banyā,' usually means 'grain-patcher.'

[No. 53.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀL.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkay	khēdō-me	Rāmāyā	kaṇē-kā	ekkan	patēl	thārtā-thā.	Une
One	village-in	Rāmāyā	called	one	patēl	was.	He
ekkan	rōjū	bajār-ku	khū-huwā-thā,	taw	whā	suwālā	khammis
one	day	bazar-to	went,	then	there	good	five
Gōvē-kā	āmb	mōl-ku-hidap-kō	nann-ku	awaryā.			Us-ku
Goa-of	mangoes	having-bought	house-to	came.			Him-to
arabā-jay	kachēlē	thārtā-the.	Un-kā	nau	Sank	Bala	
four-persons	sons	were.	Them-of	names	Sank	Bala	
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	apapī	arabā	jay	kachēlē-kū	bōlwād-ko
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	own	four	persons	sons	having-called
dusāryā,	* kachēlē,	hidap,	maī	bajār-mē-si	yō	khammis	
said,	* sons,	to,	by-me	bazar-in-from	these	five	
āmb	lewaryā-hal.	Tume	arabā	jay	arabā	hidap-ke	
mangoes	taken-are.	You	four	persons	four	having-taken	
khammis-kā	āmb	tumāre	ammā-ku	kid.	Ē	banat	
fifth	mango	your	mother-to	give.	These	words	
sunwād-ke	ō	kachēlē-ku	khus	huwādā.	Uno	aīsā	
having-heard	those	sons-to	pleasure	became.	By-them	such	
suwālā	āmb-phal	kab-bī	ūpyā-ch-natte.	Uno	yō	phal	
nice	mango-fruits	even-even	seen-not-were.	By-them	these	fruits	
hidap-ke	khū-hō-ke	dusāre-wāisā	batwād-karwād-ke			śudē.	
having-taken	having-gone	said-as	divided-made-having			were-eaten.	
Kajilī-ku	tuluk-te	wakht-me	Rāmāyā	kachēlē-ku		bōlwād-ke	
Evening-at	sleeping	time-in	Rāmāyā	sons		having-called	
dusāryā,	* pyār	kachēlē,	tāwach	kidyātā	āmb	kōsa	thārtā-the ?
said,	* dear	sons,	them-only	given	mangoes	how	were ?
Use	Sank	kaṇē-kā	tuwānā	kachēlā	uttar	kidyā,	* bābā, ō
To-that	Sank	called	eldest	son	answer	gave,	* father, that
phal	miṇe	bahut	śēbit	diswādya.	Ō	bahut	śēbit phal
fruit	to-me	much	good	appeared.	That	very	good fruit

thartai.	Maī	us-ki	binjya	jatan	karwād-ke	tharā-liyā-hai.
is.	By-me	that-of	alone	care	having-made	kept-taken-is.
Use	nirgā-ke	rōjū	śuru	hōwād-ke	wakt-me	pēr-wāḍtaū.
That	rain-of	days	beginning	having-become	time-in	am-sowing.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived a Patāl named Rāmāyā. One day when he had been to the market, he purchased five excellent mangoes and brought them home. He had four sons, Sank, Bāla, Bhīma and Hanama. He called his four sons together and said to them, 'children, look here, I have brought these five mangoes from the bazar. Keep four of them for yourselves and give the fifth one to your mother.' The children were pleased to hear these words; they had never before seen such nice mangoes. They took the fruit away and divided them among themselves as they had been told. At bed-time Rāmāyā called his children and said, 'dear children, how did you find the mangoes that were then given to you?' To this Sank, the eldest son, replied, 'father, I found the fruit very good. It is an excellent fruit. I have preserved the stone that I may sow it when the rainy season sets in.'

SIKALGĀRĪ.

The caste known as *saigalgars*, *siqligars*, *sikligars*, etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, *saigalgar*, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base *saḡal*, to polish.

Name.

'Since the disarming of the country,' says Mr. Crooke, 'the trade of the armourer and cutler has become depressed. The ordinary Siqligar seen in towns is a trader of no worth, and his whole stock-in-trade is a circular whetstone (*sān*) worked by a strap between two posts fixed in the ground. He sharpens a four-bladed knife, a pair of scissors or two razors for a pice. Their status is that of ordinary Muhammadans of the lower artizan class.'

The number of Sikligars returned at the Census of 1911 was 5,922, of whom 2,096 were recorded in the Rajputana Agency, the rest being shown as 'elsewhere.'

Number.

Of these 4,548 were returned as Hindūs, 818 as Sikhs, and 556 as Musalmāns.

We do not possess any information to the effect that the Sikligars, as a whole, possess a language of their own. A separate dialect called

Language.

Sikalgārī was, however, during the preliminary operations of this Survey returned from the Belgaum District of Bombay, where it was said to be spoken by 25 individuals in the Samḡaon *talūga* in the south of the district. Two specimens and the Standard List of Words and Sentences in Sikalgārī have been forwarded from that place.

To judge from these materials Sikalgārī in most particulars agrees with Gujarātī. Compare forms such as *dikarō*, son; *dikarā*, sons; *gāyḡiyō*, cows; the case suffixes dative *-nē*; ablative *-tō* (Gujarātī *-thō*); genitive *-nō*; locative *-mā*; pronouns such as *mārō*, my; *ham*, we; *tunē*, you; verbal forms such as *chhē*, is; *hotō*, was; *lidyō*, took; *malḡū*, it was got; *charācā-nō*, to tend; *thēl*, become, and so forth.

Some few characteristics, however, point in other directions. With regard to phonology we may note the frequent doubling of consonants and the common disaspiration of aspirates; compare *chhukḡkō*, hungering; *chōllāwā*, to be called; *duttinē*, having eaten; *nittē*, always; *guttā*, bale; *khubō*, standing; *sādinō*, having searched; *hatō*, hand. Both features are found in other Gipsy languages. The former may point towards Pañjābī; the latter reminds us of Dravidian.

Of inflexional forms which are not Gujarātī we may note the periphrastic future in *gō*; thus, *thauḡgā*, we shall become. Similar forms of the future are also used in Rājasthānī. The termination of the singular is *gō* as in Eastern Rājasthānī.

The *g*-future is also used in some Bhil dialects,¹ and it is possible that there is a connexion between Gipsy dialects such as Sikalgārī and Bhilī. Thus it is probable that the dialect described as Siyālgirī in Vol. IX, Part iii, pp. 197 and ff., has something to do with Sikalgārī.

Connexion with Siyālgirī.

¹ See Vol. II, Part iii, p. 7.

Both dialects mainly agree with Gujarātī. They also agree in not possessing the case of the agent, in dropping a *e* before *i* and *ē*, and in the frequent use of a *kh* instead of an *s*. This *kh* has been treated as a spirant *kh* in dealing with Siyālgiri. In Sīkalgārī, however, it is certainly an aspirate as in other Gipsy argots. The Siyālgirs of Midnapore, who are supposed to have immigrated from the west some five or six generations ago, now follow a variety of occupations. Some sell fish, some make and sell bamboo mats, some are cultivators, and a few sell groceries. If they were originally Sikligars, the many points in which their dialect agrees with Sīkalgārī are easily explained. The points of disagreement do not present any serious obstacle to this hypothesis, if we remember that the Siyālgirs have long lived among strangers and must necessarily have come under the influence of the dialects spoken by their surroundings. It is more to be wondered that the two forms of speech still present so many points of agreement.

The substitution of a *kh* instead of an *s* and also of other sounds in Sīkalgārī mentioned above must be compared with the various devices for disguising words in other Gipsy dialects. Sīkalgārī is not a simple dialect, but also an artificial argot. There are several peculiar words such as *kōyrā*, people, men; *khālmānyū*, swine; *khēdō*, village; *khōl*, house; *gār*, give; *chingā*, dress; *chōkō*, good; *chhīmānō*, horse; *duṭ*, eat; *dhōtrīgō*, belly; *nikat*, run; *nikar*, die; *nikdīyō*, thief; *pādō*, bull; *poṭṭū*, child; *ranban*, wife; *subādā*, rupee.

Moreover we find some of the common devices of disguising ordinary words by means of various additions. A *kh* is sometimes prefixed before words beginning with a vowel; thus, *khubō*, standing; *khuppar*, above; *khēklā-mā*, in so much, in the meantime; *khāikīnē*, having heard; *kh* is also frequently substituted for an initial *s*; thus, *khāt*, seven; *khāmō*, before; *khārā*, all; *khāpdyō*, he was found; *khō*, hundred. In *khyāpāryō*, a tradesman, it has replaced a *v*, cf. Gujarātī *vēpārī*.

Ch and *chh* are apparently only substituted for labials, as in other Gipsy argots; compare *chōllāwā*, to be called; *chāyē*, way, means, if this is derived from *upōy*; *chhāndī*, having bound; *chhukhō*, hungering.

An *a* has been substituted for an initial *p* in *nāpchī*, sin.

Several words receive additions at the end, and a final consonant is often dropped before such additions.

Several additions contain a guttural. The simplest one consists of a *kh*, which is substituted for a final *s*; thus, *kāpukh*=*kapūs*, cotton; *ikh*, twenty; *dakhalā*, ten; *manekh*, man; *warakh*, year. A *t* is added to this *kh* in forms such as *ākhṭī*, she came; *lēkhtyō*, tookest. In *nikat*, run, *kat* seems to be used in the same way. The addition *gōṭ* in *kagōṭyō*, did; *ghāgōṭō*, put, is perhaps also connected. An *n* is also sometimes added to these suffixed gutturals; thus, *jākan*, he goes; *gakanyō*, went; *chhōknō*, boy, compare Gujarātī *chhōkrō*; *rhākan*, he lives; *rhakanyō*, he remained. We may add the suffix *gal* in words such as *ghāgal*, put; *jāgal*, go; *dhagāl-wā-nū*, of catching; *phaglinō*, again.

It is tempting to compare these additions with the Murda suffixes *kat*, *kan*, which play a great rôle in the conjugation of verbs.

A *khl* or *kl* has been added in words such as *ekhlā*, so many; *kekhalā*, how many? *kheklā-mā*, so-much-in, in the meantime.

A *ch* has been suffixed in words such as *nāṇchī*, sin; *mhēchei-lā*, putting take; compare Gujarāṭī *mēheṣṭ*.

Other additions are *t*, *ḍ* and *p*; thus, *dēwṭā-nā*, of God; *jivṭō*, alive; *nākōḍū*, nose; *mhōḍū*, mouth; *anpū*, food.

For further particulars the specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 181ff.

[No. 54.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ek manekh-nē bē dīkarā botā, Tinā-mā nāuchōn dīkarō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among by-the-younger son
 āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, tārī jingānī-mā ma-nē ākhtwānō wātō
own father-to it-was-said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming share
 ma-nē gār.' Yabō tinā-mā āpnō jingī wātīnē
me-to give. By-the-father them-among own property having-divided
 gāryō. Nāuchōn dīkarō āpnō wātō line dūr gām-nē
was-given. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 jāknīnē ghanā dīn thayā nāī, kheklā-mā tō dhundh thainē
having-gone many days were not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āpnō jingānī hāl-kagōtyō. Tō im karīnē-par tē gāmō-mā
own property wasted-was-made. He so having-done-on that village-in
 jahar dukāl padīnē tī-nē garībī ākhtī. Tō tē gāmō-mā
mighty famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that village-in
 ēk manekh-kan tsākri chakhanyō. E manekh tī-nē khālmānyū
one man-near in-service remained. This man him swine
 charāwānō khētar-nē walāy gāryō. Tyā chhukkō kalwal
to-graze field-to sending was-given. There hungry afflicted
 thainē khālmānyū dutwānō kōpō-bī duttī-nē dhōtrīyō
having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly
 bhagli-lētō-tō, pan tī-nē kī-kantū kāyī malyū nāī. Im
filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything was-got not. So
 thōknā dīn gāknyā, āpnō pāchānī wāt mālum padīnē tō āpnā
few days passed, own former state known having-fallen he own
 man-mā kadyō, 'mārā yabā-kan rhayēnō ghanā tsākryāw-nē dhōtrīyō
mind-in said, 'my father-near living many sercants-to belly
 bhārī-nē khuppar anpū māltū-tū; mī hyā chhukkō nikartaū.
having-filled above food obtained-was; I here hungry am-dying.
 Mī khubō-thārīnē yabā-kan jāknīnē kadyō, "yabā mī dēwtā-ōū
I having-got-up father-near having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of

pāp yabā-nū pāp chhāndi lidyō. Mī tārā dīkarō karinē
sin father-of sin having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said
 chollāwā jōgō nāl. Ma-nē ēk tsākri dākal tārā-kan
to-be-called worthy not. Me one servant like of-thee-near
 mhāchivī-lō." Im kainē tyā-tō tō khubō-thārinē āpnā
keep." So having-said there-from he up-having-arisen own
 yabā-kan jākantō-tō. Pachē yabō dūr-tō ti-nē dēkhinē mayā
father-near going-was. Then father far-from him having-seen pity
 āvinē niktinē jākninē dhag-linē matti gāryō.
having-come having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given.
 Pachē dīkar yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, mī dēwtā-nū khāmō tārā
Then son father-to said, 'father, by-me God-of before of-thee
 khāmō nāpchi kagōtyō. Ma-nē tārā dīkarō karinē chollāwā
before sin was-done. Me thy son having-said to-call
 nakō.' I-nē yabō āpnō tsākarwālā-nē kadyō, 'chōkō chingā
is-not-fit.' This-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 lāvine mārā dīkarā-nē ghāgōtō; nāpeli-mā khaṅgōtī ghāgōtō,
having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put,
 pagō-mā jōdwā ghāgōtō; dutwān-nō tayāri kagōtō; ham dūtī-nē
feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation make; we having-eaten
 santōs thauṅgā, sakarwā-kai-tō, yē mārō dīkarō nikuryō-tō, phaglinē
merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again
 jiwō āyō; niktinē gakyō-tō, khāpdyō. E khaikinē khārā
alive came; lost gone-was, was-found.' This having-heard all
 santōs thayā.
merry became.

Yē wakhat-mā ti-nō mōtō dīkarō khētār-mā hotō. Tō khāl-kan
This time-in his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 āwtākhū ti-nē gānū nāchanū khaikū āyū. Tō tō tsākar-wālā-mā
coming him-to singing dancing to-hear came. He those servants-among
 ek-nē chollāyinē, 'sū thāwā lāgū-ch?' kadyō. Tyā-nō tō, 'tārō
one-to having-called, 'what becoming is?' said. Him-to he, 'thy
 bhāyi ākhtyō-ch; tō chōkō ākhtyō karinē dutwā kagōtyō,' im
brother came-even; he well came having-said dinner was-made,' so
 kadyō. Yē khaikinē mōtō dīkarō rekh-āyinē māhi gakyō
said. This having-heard elder son having-got-angry inside went
 nāl, karinē ti-nō yabō baharō āvinē, 'māhi ākhtal,'
not, having-done his father outside having-come, 'inside come,'
 karinē ti-nē ghanō kadyō. Ti-nē 'ō āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'mī
having-said him-to much said. That-to he own father-to said, 'I

ekhlā warakh tallakh tārō tsākri kagōṭinē kadi tārī wāt
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy command
 bhāgyō naī. Pan mī mārā mhaitarṇē malinē duṭwā
was-broken not. But I my friends having-gathered feast
 kagōṭwadē tū ma-nē kadi ēk bakrō-bī gāryō naī. Pantū
making-for thou me-to ever one goat-eaten was-given not. But
 rānd-nō saṅgat paḍinē tārī jingī khārī galī-gayō-tō
harlots-of in-company having-fallen thy property all squandering-gone
 yē tārō dīkarō khōl-nē ākhiṭakhū tū ti-nē walē duṭwā
this thy son house-to coming-on thou of-him for-the-sake dinner
 kagōṭyō. Yabō dīkarō-nē kadyō, 'tū mārā-kan nittē rhasī.
was-made. Father son-to said, 'thou of-me-near always art.
 Mā-kan raheltō khārā tārā-ch mayē. Nikaryō-tō tārī bhāyī
Me-near being all thine-alone is. Dead-was thy brother
 phaglinē jiwō ayō; nikṭinē gakyō-tō, khāpdyō, karinē ham santōs
again alive came; lost gone-was, was-found, having-said we merry
 thawānū barōbar chhē.
to-become proper is.'

[No. 55.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGÄRI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ijāpur-mā ēk khyāpāryō kāpukh-nō ghanō khyāpār kagōttō-tō. Ek
Bijapur-in one merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was. One
 dīn tē gām-mā-tū kāyī nikḍiyā malīnē wakat sādīnē
day that village-in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought
 tē khyāpāryā-nō khōl-mā-nū ghan kāpukh-nā gatta nikḍi karīnē
that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having-made
 li-gayā. Pachā to khyāpāryō bādsahā-kan jāknīnē apnō khōl-mā
took-away. Then that merchant king-near having-gone own house-in
 nikḍi-thēl wāt kadyō. 'Im nikḍi thawānī ghani sarmundī
theft-committed story told. 'So theft to-become very disgraceful
 wāt chhē; āj-nō dīn dharīnē chār dīn-mā tū tē nikḍiyā-nē
matter is; today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves
 naī dhaglyō-tō tārū mātū nikāruṅgā, im tī-nē hukum kagōtyō. Yē
not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off, so him-to order made. This
 wāt khaikīnē kotwāl nikḍiyā-nē patiyō kādwānē wālō ghanṭōl
word having-heard kotwāl thieves-of way tracing for much
 khatpat kagōtyō, pan tē khāpdyā naī.
labour did, but they were-found not.
 Kheklā-mā bādsahā-nō gāral chār dīn kharīnē pāchmō dīn
This-much-in king-of given four days having-expired fifth day
 ākhtyō. 'Kotwāl-nō mātū nikāruṅgā,' karīnē gām-mā daṅgōrō
came. 'Kotwāl-of head will-cut-off,' having-said village-in drum
 khojādyō. Yō khaikīnē khārā kōyrā talmaiyā; sakarwakaitō
was-beaten. This having-heard all people were-grieved; because
 kotwāl khārā-nē chōkō hotō. Yē khabar khaikīnē tē gām-mā-nō
kotwāl all-to dear was. This news having-heard that village-in-of
 ēk śyānō manekh bādsahā-kan jāknīnē hatō jōdīnē māgi
one clever man king-near having-gone hands having-joined begging
 lidyō.
was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A merchant in Bijapur was dealing in cotton on a large scale. One day some thieves from the city formed a gang and, seeking an opportunity, stole a number of cotton bales from the merchant's house. Then the merchant went to the King and informed him of the theft committed in his house. The King (sent for the Kotwāl) and gave him the following order, 'that such a theft should have been committed in my town, is really a disgrace. If you fail to trace the thieves within four days, I shall have you beheaded.' At this the Kotwāl tried his best to trace the thieves, but they were not found.

In the meantime the four days granted by the King expired, and the fifth day came. It was announced by the beating of drums that the Kotwāl was to be decapitated. All the people were grieved to hear this, for the Kotwāl was very popular. Hearing this news a clever man in the town went to the King, and joining his hands begged.

GULGULIĀ.

The Gulguliās are a wandering non-Aryan tribe, who live by hunting, teaching monkeys to dance, selling indigenous drugs, begging, and petty thieving. Sir Herbert Risley thinks that they are a branch of the Bediyās.

At the Census of 1911, 853 Gulguliās were returned, 824 from Bihar and Orissa and 29 from elsewhere.

No information about the language of the Gulguliās is available in Census Reports, and no such dialect was reported during the preliminary operations of this Survey. At the Census of 1901 it was, however, reported from the Hazaribagh District that the Gulguliās do not ordinarily speak a separate dialect, but that they make use of a kind of argot when they intend to prevent others from understanding what they say. Three short sentences in this jargon were forwarded to Sir Edward Gait, the then Superintendent of the Census operations in Bengal, and he has been good enough to place them at the disposal of this Survey. They show that this argot is of the same kind as other secret jargons. In the first place there are some peculiar words such as *tebigō*, fell; *lugigō*, died; *kutāchhī*, have eaten; *liōr*, tempest; *nēmru*, bullock; *nāhkat*, in the house. Some of these are well known from other argots, compare Sāsi *lawā*, fall; *lugyā*, die; *lūtā*, eat; *nād*, village; Garōdi *nānd*, house. Besides this, ordinary words are disguised by changing their initials. Thus *kh* is substituted for *b* in *khīāh*=*biyāh*, wedding, and for *p* in *kheāch*=*pāch*, five; *jh* for *t* in *jhīn-gō*=*tīn*, three; *n* for *g* in *nāchh*=*gāchh*, tree, and so forth. I now give the sentences themselves with an inter-linear translation.

Kōrāet	liōr	tebigō;	jhīn-gō	nāchh	tebigō,	kheāch-gō	nēmru
<i>Last-night</i>	<i>a-tempest</i>	<i>fell;</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>trees</i>	<i>fell,</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>bullocks</i>

lugigō,
died.

Jhātu-sēti	nōpi	kutāchhī,	nāhkat	kōnāgi	nōpi	chhakhālō.
<i>Yesterday-from</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>eaten-have,</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>food (?)</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>is.</i>

Hamar	pānhīr	khīāh	bhēkthaligō,	jamāē	nāhkat	chhakhālō.
<i>My</i>	<i>daughter's</i>	<i>wedding</i>	<i>became,</i>	<i>son-in-law</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>is.</i>

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY
LANGUAGES.

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES

English.	Đặc (Castle).	Đặc (Ordinary).	Đặc (Criminal).
1. One . . .	Ek . . .	Ek . . .	Bek . . .
2. Two . . .	Don . . .	Do . . .	Dhok . . .
3. Three . . .	Tin . . .	Tin . . .	Thar . . .
4. Four . . .	Chār . . .	Chār . . .	Chang . . .
5. Five . . .	Pāch . . .	Pañj . . .	Nāch . . .
6. Six . . .	Chha . . .	Chē . . .	Nhō . . .
7. Seven . . .	Sāt . . .	Sat . . .	Nhat . . .
8. Eight . . .	Āṭh . . .	Ath . . .	Koṭh . . .
9. Nine . . .	Nau . . .	Nau . . .	Khañ . . .
10. Ten . . .	Das . . .	Das . . .	Khas . . .
11. Twenty . . .	Vīs . . .	Wi . . .	Khis . . .
12. Fifty . . .	Pachās . . .	Pañjah . . .	Nañjah . . .
13. Hundred . . .	Sā . . .	Sau . . .	Nhan . . .
14. I . . .	Hē . . .	Hañ . . .	Hañ . . .
15. Of me . . .	Māchā . . .	Mārē . . .	Mārgā . . .
16. Mine . . .	Māchā . . .	Mārā . . .	Mārgā . . .
17. We . . .	Amī . . .	Ham . . .	Ham . . .
18. Of us . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārē . . .	Mhārgā . . .
19. Our . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārā . . .	Mhārgā . . .
20. Thou . . .	Tū . . .	Taū . . .	Taū . . .
21. Of thee . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērā . . .	Tērgā . . .
22. Thine . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērā . . .	Tērgā . . .
23. You . . .	Tamī . . .	Tam . . .	Tam . . .
24. Of you . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārē . . .	Tuhārgā . . .
25. Your . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārā . . .	Tuhārgā . . .

Kóláti (Akola).	Gárgá.	Myármá.
Bák	Ékmá	Khák
Dhór	Dulimá	Dög
Thár	Tiamá	Täg
Nyár	Chyármá	Chög
Nách	Páchemá	Nách
Chhá	Chhármá	Chhálmá
Sátta	Sáimá	Nhatéto
Wélla	Áimá	Khót
Naw	Naumá	Navéto
Dáhá	Daemá	Dadéto
Bia	Biamá	Ná
Namá	Chálla-daemá	Nachá
Só	Saumá	Ná
Há	Mi	Má
Mérá	Méro	Méro
Mára	Méro	Méro
Ham	Ham	Hamá
Hamárá	Hamáro	Hamáro
Hamárá	Hamáro	Hamáro
Tá	Tá	Tá
Tárá	Téro	Téro
Tára	Téro	Téro
Tam	Tam	Tamá
Tamárá	Tamáro	Tamáro
Tumárá	Tumáro	Tumáro

Kanjeri (Stepar).	Kanjeri (Belgaur).	Nepi (State Kanjer).
Bak; khakāla	Ekkan	Bak
Dubala	Jand	Dhor
Tibala	Dhalla	Phar
Chabala	Araba	Chanak
Pachala	Khammita	Nach
Chhabala	Tita	Nhe
Sabala	Khammita-jand	Natb
Khajala	Khammita-dhalla	Kot
Namala	Oce-asir	Khaou
Dasala	Asir	Khae
Bisala	Mr	Kha
Bachala	Khadc-thokapo	Machala
Sawala	Thokapo	Kharu
Maī	Maī	Hū
Mero	Mero	Mero
Mero	Mero	Mero
Ham; maī	Hama	Kham
Mero	Hamaro	Khamara
Mero	Hamaro	Khamara
Taī; tā	Yo	Na
Tero	Yuroko	Tera
Tero	Yuroko	Tera
Taī; tā	Tama	Num
Tero	Tamara	Numhara
Tero	Tamara	Numhara

IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES.

Qum.	Shalgit (Belgum).	English.
Ekkap	Ek	1. One.
Jand	Be	2. Two.
Dhalla	Tao	3. Three.
Arha	Char	4. Four.
Khamole	Pach	5. Five.
Thia	Chha	6. Six.
Khammi-jand	Khât	7. Seven.
Khammi-dhalla	As	8. Eight.
Oupâ-âsir	Nao	9. Nine.
Âsir	Dakhall	10. Ten.
Ma	Itt	11. Twenty.
Pachyâs	Ba-ikk-dakh	12. Fifty.
Thakapâ	Kho	13. Hundred.
Maï	Mi	14. I.
Morâ	Mârâ	15. Of me.
Morâ	Mârâ	16. Mine.
Hâm	Ham	17. We.
Hamârâ	Hamârâ	18. Of us.
Hamârâ	Hamârâ	19. Oar.
Tâ	Tâ	20. Thou.
Torâ	Târâ	21. Of thee.
Tôrâ	Târâ	22. Thine.
Tame	Tumâ	23. You.
Tumârâ	Tumârâ	24. Of you.
Tumârâ	Tumârâ	25. Your.

English.	Orizl (Cutch).	Slat (Ordinary).	Slat (Cutch).
26. He	Sā	Uh	Bah
27. Of him	Tā-chā	Uakā	Buskā
28. His	Tā-chā	Uakā	Buskā
29. They	Sā, (awā)	Uh	Bah
30. Of them	Tā-chā, (awā-chā)	Uakā	Buskā
31. Their	Tā-chā, (awā-chā)	Uakā	Buskā
32. Hand	Hāth	Hāth	Khōth
33. Foot	Pag	Pair	Nair
34. Nose	Nāk	Nākk	Khakk
35. Eye	Ākh	Ākkh	Kakkhi
36. Mouth	Mō	Mūh	Khūh
37. Tooth	Dāi	Dand	Khadaud
38. Ear	Kān	Kānn	Kānn
39. Hair	Wār	Bāl	Bāl
40. Head	Thor	Sir	Nhīs
41. Tongue	Jibh	Jibh	Jibh
42. Belly	Pet	Pett	Nett
43. Back	Path	Pitt	Nitt
44. Iron	Lōdhā	Lohā	Lohā
45. Gold	Sānā	Sannā	Bannā
46. Silver	Hāpā	Chāndi	Chāndi
47. Father	Bā	Bāpp	Bāptā
48. Mother	Āi	Mē	Mauti
49. Brother	Bhāu	Bhāl	Bhantā
50. Sister	Bā	Bāu	Dhabāp
51. Man	Māpas	Banda	Kōdmī
52. Woman	Bayri	Janāni	Bārmī

KSHĀT (Akola).	Gāṇḍī.	Mānḍā.
Ō	Wo	Ū
Ua-kā	Wō-kā	Wāko
Us-kā	Wō-kā	Wākō
Ō	Yō	Vā
Un-kā	Yō-kā	Wākōyī
Un-kā	Yō-kā	Wākōyī
Hōta; kohōt	Gōno	Gōt
Pāw; gōnā	Gōnāhī	Gōyā
Khanākka; nākka	Nākōchī	Khinak
Kekkha	Kānōchī	Gūfī
Khumma	Khōmḍā	Chhōṇḍō
Nāta	Dāḍwā	Kōḍ
Rānno	Kānōchī	Rikan
Nay	Turwālo	Rāḷ
Tammi	Tōlchō	Nūko
Nib	Jibēchī	Jib
Neḷ	Phamuklō	Rapaḷ
Niṭṭh	Paṇḍchī	Niṭ
Lakhaḍ	Dharālī	Lhō
Bōnā	Bōngā	Bāw
Nāṭ	Gaudilō	Nāndī
Bāptā	Bhāwntō	Māwntō
Bhāwī	Māwūtī	Māwūtī
Bhāwtā	Bhōkḍā	Rhākḷō
Bānchī	Bhānchī	Rhākḷī
Kōḍmī	Khadmī, or kājā	Khādmi
Kājī; hāṭṭī	Kājī	Dāmī

Kanjarī (Sikhar),	Kanjarī (Belgaum),	Nālī (State of Hampar),
Bihī; wō; hīrō; ūr . . .	Ē	Wah
Bīrō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Urokō	Nus-kā
Bīrō-kō; urū-kā . . .	Urokō	Aus-kā
Bihī; wō; hīrō; ūr . . .	Ō	Wō
Bīrō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Bīrō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Kohat	Hattēto	Hōt
Gupārā, gurārā . . .	Gupdālē	Nāl
Nak-hēli	Nakōjā	Naktā
Ṭakhmī	Khakōlē	Ūkh
Khōsar	Mōdā	Kham
Dat-hālō	Datālē	Khodāl
Kan-hālā	Kanālē	Bān
Bar-hālā	Bālē	Khabāl
Mar-hālā	Śīrō	Nōhaa
Jim-hālī	Jibālī	Khajīb
Pit-hālō	Pētō	Nat
Pit-hālī	Pitēh	Nith
Ṭahālō	Lhawō	Khalōyā
Rōnō	Sunno	Bēnā
Rūdī	Chandī	Khanādī
Bap-hālō	Bapō	Khabap; nāp
Mahīārī	Māiyyā	Khamī
Chihhātī	Bhai	Phaotā
Rahin	Bhayap	Chien
Najārō; khādmi . . .	Kājarō	Kādmi
Najāl	Kājarī	Khēr

Ques.	Bikalgari (Belgians).	English.
Une	Tō	26. He.
Ue-kā	Tinā	27. Of him.
Ue-kā	Tinā	28. His.
Uno	Tō	29. They.
Un-kā	Tinā	30. Of them.
Un-kā	Tinā	31. Their.
Hatōjā	Hatō	32. Hand.
Gaḍālo	Pagō	33. Foot.
Phōkapi	Nākōḍā	34. Nose.
Akoyyā	Kāngi	35. Eye.
Mā	Mhōḍā	36. Mouth.
Chabue	Dātō	37. Tooth.
Kannōtyā	Kānōḍā	38. Ear.
Bālā	Bālō	39. Hair.
Śur	Mānō	40. Head.
Minjālī	Jīb	41. Tongue.
Khīlā	Dhōriyō	42. Belly.
Piṣ	Piḍōḍā	43. Back.
Lawhā	Lhōḍō	44. Iron.
Sōnā	Khōnō	45. Gold.
Khurā	Chāndī	46. Silver.
Bātā	Yabō	47. Father.
Āmmā	Yāyī	48. Mother.
Tuwānā-lhai (elder), subak-lhai (younger).	Bhāyī	49. Brother.
Bā (elder), bhāp (younger)	Bhāp	50. Sister.
Subōkḍā	Mauekh	51. Man.
Subōkadi	Bāyko	52. Woman.

English.	Ōjib (Cutchi)	S'et (Ojibway)	S'et (Kikistot)
53. Wife	Wau	Rann	Barmi
54. Child	Chhōyā	Mōpā, mōpā	Bōra, bōri
55. Son	Pōi	Pai	Bāro
56. Daughter	Dhō	Dhi	Bōri
57. Slave	Golām	Ghalām	Ghalām
58. Cultivator	Kharō	Kajā	Khōā
59. Shepherd	Bhōnār	Ājri, ajāri	Ājri, ajāri
60. God	Bhagwān	Khudā	Rudāh
61. Devil	Dait	Shaitān	Shaitān
62. Sun	Sārāj	Sārāj	Nārāj
63. Moon	Chandar	Chann	Chann
64. Star	Tārā	Tārā	Tārā
65. Fire	Tādha	Āgg	Piagi, kōgg
66. Water	Pāi	Paui	Chai
67. House	Ghar	Ghor	Khanā
68. Horse	Gorā	Ghōrā	Kūdrā
69. Cow	Gāy	Gā	Lālet
70. Dog	Kutā	Kutā	Bhokai
71. Cat	Minā	Baliā	Koulā, ghālā
72. Cook	Kakrā	Kakar	Kakar
73. Duck	Badak	Batak	Batak
74. Ass	Gārō	Khōā	Gōpā
75. Camel	Ūth	Ūth	Thab
76. Bird	Pakhi	(Little) Chiriyā, piūchhi	Niriyā
77. Go	Jā	Jāpā	Jōrā
78. Eat	Khā	Khānā	Dātā
79. Sit	Bās	Bāpā	Thāikā

Kōhōri (Akaia).	Gāhōi.	Māhōi.
Bhatani	Nathya	Bair
Kajeta	Lāwō	Gelpō
Chhōrā	Lāwō	Gelpō
Chhōri	Lāwō	Gelpō
Lādā	Dhikmā	Nāgādī
Nēhnikari	Rat	Dhupahi
Bantagar	Dhanētyā	Dhangar
New	Dēmā	Khidew
Chāni	Bhurmā	Nhā
Nhuriyā	Suriyā	Nhuriyā
Nān	Chandichā	Chānd
Nārā	Tārā	Tārō
Kōgga	Dahāgā	Kichā
Chāni	Nirmā	Chāyā
Khōggā	Nānd	Khōk
Rhōdā	Ghōrō	Ghōdchā
Rāy	Kāwō	Gāy
Dhōkai	Dahāgā	Jukō
Kādai	Jilā	Nilay
Kukā	Pakā	Chhurgā
Nadā	Badā	Nadā
Bādā	Khōrā	Nopā
Khō	Huō	Khō
Nanāwar	Chī	Chāgā
Jāsa	Dahāyil	Hitwā
Datta	Bā	Dutwā
Bā	Thig	Tawā

Kaucha (Sitapur).	Kaucha (Palgama).	Nay (Sena Bampur).
Malmāra	Jō	Chlō
.....	Bachhā	Khabālak
Chūbkō	Baidō	Bhō
Chahki	Baidi	Bāri
Gulamhālō	Pāinkō	Gulām
Khā-hālō	Rait	Rasān
Dharariā	Dhangar	Raṇḍariyā
Rām	Mahābōb	Nannōswar
Bhut-hālō	Saitāne	Khabhāi
Saraj-hālō	Sarōj	Saraj
Chand-hālō	Chānd	Khānd
Par-hālā	Tārō	Khatārā
Jhuvā	Ahgārō	Ōg
Nimāni	Niwāni	Chhāi
Rib	Nandō	Lohallā
Ghurārō	Ghōḍō	Roharā
Nādh	Ōyō	Tiyārgi rāḍ
Jhūkū	Kuttō	Jhumkar
Bilā	Billi	Khablā
Margā	Murugā	Khamurg
Radak	Barkō	Tiyārgi radak
Gādhā	Gaddō	Rohā
Uṭ-hālō	Hāi	Hāi
Chirāl	Parinde	Naratul
Jaugh	Nikhar	Jaarō
Dāt	Thār	Dau lō
Raith	Chai	Thāi jō

Qash.	Sikahel (Belgeur).	English.
Jōrā	Hanma	33. Wife.
Bachā	Boira	34. Child.
Kachā	Dikar	35. Son.
Kachā	Dikar	36. Daughter.
Hājibādā	Lākō	37. Slave.
Rait	Rhair	38. Cultivator.
Dhangar	Dhangar	39. Shepherd.
Allā	Dēvō	40. God.
Šāiān	Bhatañ	41. Devil.
Sari	Din	42. Sun.
Chān	Chān	43. Moon.
Tārā	Chānd	44. Star.
Angar	Ag	45. Fire.
Nirgā	Pān	46. Water.
Nann	Khal	47. House.
Ghōdā	Chhimeo	48. Horse.
Bhakar	Gāyō	49. Cow.
Kutā	Kutō	50. Dog.
Bili	Bilāñ	51. Cat.
Muragā	Kakō	52. Cock.
Badak muragi	Badak	53. Duck.
Gadañ	Gadañ	54. Ass.
Hāt	Hāt	55. Camel.
Parindā	Pakhrā	56. Bird.
Khā	Jāku	57. Go.
Šō	Dut	58. Eat.
Botwā	Bukhal	59. Sit.

English.	ଓଡ଼ିଆ (Cutch).	ସଂସ୍କୃତ (Ordinary).	ସଂସ୍କୃତ (Cutchi).
80. Come . . .	ଆସ	ଆସା	ଆସା
81. Beal . . .	ମାର	ମାରା	ଲୋକ
82. Stand . . .	ଓହ	ଖିରା	ଖିରା; khaia or raia hōpō
83. Die . . .	ମର	ମରା	ଲଗା
84. Give . . .	ଦେ	ଦେବା	ଦେବା
85. Run . . .	ଧଉ	ନାସା, ଡାସା	ବିକନା
86. Up . . .	ମାଧା	ଉତ୍ତର	ଖିମ୍ପା
87. Near . . .	ପାଖି-ମା	ନିକଟ	ଧନନିକଟ
88. Down . . .	ନିକଟ	ତାଳ	ତାଳ
89. Far . . .	ପାର	ଦୂର	ଖାଦୂର
90. Before . . .	ମୁକ୍ତ	ଆଗ	କୃଷ୍ଣ
91. Behind . . .	ପିଛା	ପିଛା	ନିକଟ
92. Who . . .	କଣ	କାମ	କାମ
93. What . . .	କି	କି	କି
94. Why . . .	କି	କି	କି
95. And . . .	ଆଉ	ତେ	ତେ
96. But . . .	ପାର	ପାର	ପାର
97. If . . .	ଜେ	ଜେକ, ଜେ	ଜାକେ ଜେ
98. Yea . . .	ହା	ଆ	ଆ
99. No . . .	ନା	ନା	ନା
100. Alas . . .	ଆ	ହା	ହା
101. A father . . .	ବା	ବାପ	ବାପା
102. Of a father . . .	ବା-ଚା	ବାପ-ଗା (-ଗେ, -ଗି, -ଗା)	ବାପ-ଗା
103. To a father . . .	ବା-ନି	ବାପ-ଗା	ବାପ-ଗା
104. From a father . . .	ବା-ଠି	ବାପ-ଥା	ବାପ-ଥା
105. Two fathers . . .	ଦୁଇ ବା	ଦୁଇ ବାପ	ଦୁଇ ବାପ
106. Fathers . . .	ବା	ବାପ	ବାପ

Kāṣṭhī (Aṭṭa)	Uṭṭā	Nyāwāṭṭ
Nyākūṭ	Hāyil	Barwād
Thay	Lugā	Lōt
Uṭā rāhō	Kūṭ-ko khab-rā	Khab-rōk
Luki jā	Lag	Lugit
Dōppa	Walā	Khichwād
Nhaa	Nimal	Chigawād
Uprō	Khōpar	Khōpar
Najik	Koa	Kharō
Tanhō	Taa	Talkō
Dur	Dār	Dog
Sāmō	Khagādī	Khagādī
Pichahō	Dhichādī	Ripchō
Kōp, yō	Koa	Kuo
Kyā	Kā	Kā
Kyō	Kaikō	Kāykō
Am	Haur	Or
Pac; naranā	Lōkin	Lōkin
Jab	Tā	To
Hāw	Hāy	Hā
Nāhāpi	Hapenā	Nā
Arōrō	Arō	Ayyō
Bāptā	Ek-mō bhāwutō	Khōk māwutō
Bāptō-kā	Ek-mō bhāwutō-kō	Khōk māwutō-kō
Bāptō-ku	Ek-mō bhāwutō-kā	Khōk māwutō-kā
Bāptā-ṭhō-at	Ek-mō bhāwutō-at	Khōk māwutō-at
Dhār bāptā	Dul-mō bhāwutō	Dog māwutō
Bāpō	Bhāwutō	Māwutō

Kaujaet (Sajpur).	Kaujaet (Hajpur).	Kaj (State Rampur).
Aogh	Awar	Äaurö
Lugai	Kuſwār	Löihö
Thuſko bö	Khät	Raröpi
Lugaj	Margö	Lögi jän
Tidr	Kidö	Döpti de
Daurt	Nhaiwäre	Khadörö
Khäpar	Khäpar	Khäpar
Nagick-hölö	Pä	Hndörö
Tar-hält	Jinini	Khatar
Dur-hält	Dör	Khadör
Bämnö	Sambor	Kögö
Richhö	Pichwad	Nichhö
Kaon	Kon	Ron
Kä	Kä	Ryä
Kith-kö	Kai	Nö
Baur	Aur	Kör
Mul	Phirta . . . .	.....
.....	To . . . .	.....
Hä	Ho	Nä
Näk	Na	Mahī
.....	Äy	Nahö
Bap-hölö	Ekkap bapö	Bök khaböp
Bap-hälä-kä	Ekkap bapö-kä	Bök khaböp-rä
Bap-hälä-kē	Ekkap bapö-ku	Bök khaböp-rö
Bap-hälä-ö	Ekkap bapö-ö	Bök khaböp-rö
Dubölö bap-hälä	Jauq bapöñ	Dhor khaböp
Bap-hälä	Bapöñ	Chhüt khaböp

Quail.	Sikalgöl (Belgoun).	English.
Awar	Äkhtal	80. Come.
Ghād	Nikār	81. Best.
Uṣwād	Khubōthār	82. Stand.
Bigar	Nikar	83. Die.
Kid	Gār	84. Give.
Nhāt	Nikaṭ	85. Run.
Uppar	Khuppar	86. Up.
Najtk	Kan	87. Near.
Talle	Khōto	88. Down.
Dār	Dār	89. Far.
Sāmmē	Khāmo	90. Before.
Piehchē	Pāchō	91. Behind.
Kao	Kun	92. Who.
Kyā	Sā	93. What.
Ki	Sakarwā	94. Why.
Bhī	Sōkat	95. And.
Lēkin	Pao	96. But.
To	To	97. If.
Hoya	Hō	98. Yes.
Naī	Naī	99. No.
Ayyō	Ayyōyō	100. Alas.
Ekkay bābā	Ek yabō	101. A father.
Ekkay bābā-kā	Ek yabā-nō	102. Of a father.
Ekkay bābā-kū	Ek yabā-nō	103. To a father.
Ekkay bābā-wo	Ek yabā-to	104. From a father.
Jaṇṇ bābā	Bē yabā	105. Two fathers.
Bābā	Yabā	106. Fathers.

English.	Ostia (Cutch).	Sāi (Ordinary).	Sāi (Criminal).
107. Of fathers . . .	Bāwā-chā . . .	Bappā-gā . . .	Bāpā-gā . . .
108. To fathers . . .	Bāwā-nē . . .	Bappā-gū . . .	Bāpā-gū . . .
109. From fathers . . .	Bāwā-ti . . .	Bappā-thō . . .	Bāpā-thō . . .
110. A daughter . . .	Dhū . . .	Dhū . . .	Bārī . . .
111. Of a daughter . . .	Dhū-chā; dhūi-chā, etc. . .	Dhū-gā . . .	Bārī-gā . . .
112. To a daughter . . .	Dhū-nē . . .	Dhū-gū . . .	Bārī-gū . . .
113. From a daughter . . .	Dhū-ti . . .	Dhū-thō . . .	Bārī-thō . . .
114. Two daughters . . .	Dhū dhū . . .	Dhū dhū . . .	Dhūr bārī . . .
115. Daughters . . .	Dhū . . .	Dhū . . .	Bārī . . .
116. Of daughters . . .	Dhū-chā . . .	Dhū-gā . . .	Bārī-gā . . .
117. To daughters . . .	Dhū-nē . . .	Dhū-gū . . .	Bārī-gū . . .
118. From daughters . . .	Dhū-ti . . .	Dhū-thō . . .	Bārī-thō . . .
119. A good man . . .	Sārā mānā . . .	Chāgā (or sāk) ādmī (or bandā). . .	Chāgā kōdmī . . .
120. Of a good man . . .	Sārā mānā-chā . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gā (or bandā-gā). . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gā . . .
121. To a good man . . .	Sārā mānā-nē . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gū . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gū . . .
122. From a good man . . .	Sārā mānā-ti . . .	Chāgā ādmī-thō . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-thō . . .
123. Two good men . . .	Dōp sārā mānā . . .	Dō chāgā ādmī . . .	Dhār chāgā kōdmī . . .
124. Good men . . .	Sārā mānā . . .	Chāgā ādmī (or bandā) . . .	Chāgā kōdmī . . .
125. Of good men . . .	Sārā mānā-chā . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gā . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gā . . .
126. To good men . . .	Sārā mānā-nē . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gū . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gū . . .
127. From good men . . .	Sārā mānā-ti . . .	Chāgā ādmī-thō . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-thō . . .
128. A good woman . . .	Sārī bāyī . . .	Chāgī jānānī . . .	Chāgī bānī . . .
129. A bad boy . . .	Nikām chhōyā . . .	Bhāī mānā . . .	Nhāī (or nhārā) bārī . . .
130. Good women . . .	Sārī bāyī . . .	Chāgī jānānī . . .	Chāgī bānī . . .
131. A bad girl . . .	Nikām chhōyī . . .	Bhāī mānī . . .	Nhāī (or nhārā) bārī . . .
132. Good . . .	Sārā . . .	Chāgā . . .	Chāgā . . .
133. Better . . .	Wadhārē sārā . . .	[Is thō or is antthā] chāgā . . .	[Is thō or is antthā] chāgā . . .

Kāṇḍī (Kāṇḍī).	Gāṇḍī.	Myāṇḍī.
Bāpā-kā . . .	Bhāwātā-kā . . .	Māwātā-kā . . .
Bhāpā-ṭhā . . .	Bhāwātā-kā . . .	Māwātā-kā . . .
Bāpā-ṭhā-si . . .	Bhāwātā-si . . .	Māwātā-si . . .
Chhōri . . .	Ek-mā lāwḍī . . .	Khāk gelpi . . .
Chhōri-kā . . .	Ek-mā lāwḍī-kā . . .	Khāk gelpi-kā . . .
Chhōri-kā . . .	Ek-mā lāwḍī-kā . . .	Khāk gelpi-kā . . .
Chhōri-ṭhā-si . . .	Ek-mā lāwḍī-si . . .	Khāk gelpi-si . . .
Dhāt chhōriyā . . .	Dul-mā lāwḍī . . .	Dōg gelpi . . .
Chhōriyā . . .	Lāwḍī . . .	Gelpi* . . .
Chhōriyā-kā . . .	Lāwḍī-kā . . .	Gelpi-kā . . .
Chhōriyā-kā . . .	Lāwḍī-kā . . .	Gelpi-kā . . .
Chhōriyā-ṭhā-si . . .	Lāwḍī-si . . .	Gelpi-si . . .
Kāchhā kōdmi . . .	Ek-mā chisam khadmi . . .	Khāk khāchō khādmi . . .
Kāchhā kōdmiyā-kā . . .	Ek-mā chisam khadmi-kā . . .	Khāk khāchō khādmi-kā . . .
Kāchhā kōdmiyā-kā . . .	Ek-mā chisam khadmi-kā . . .	Khāk khāchō khādmi-kā . . .
Kāchhā kōdmiyā-ṭhā-si . . .	Ek-mā chisam khadmi-si . . .	Khāk khāchō khādmi-si . . .
Dhāt khālē kōdmi . . .	Dul-mā chisam khadmi . . .	Dōg khāchō khādmi . . .
Bhālē kōdmi . . .	Chisam khadmi . . .	Khāchō khādmi . . .
Bhālē kōdmiyā-kā . . .	Chisam khadmi-kā . . .	Khāchō khādmi-kā . . .
Bhālē kōdmiyā-kā . . .	Chisam khadmi-kā . . .	Khāchō khādmi-kā . . .
Bhālē kōdmiyā-ṭhā-si . . .	Chisam khadmi-si . . .	Khāchō khādmi-si . . .
Hāṭṭī kōṣal . . .	Ek-mā chisam kṣāṭi . . .	Khāk nri ḍāmi . . .
Burā chhōrā . . .	Ek-mā bhāṭ lāwḍī . . .	Khāk sugāṭ gēli . . .
Kōṣal hāṭṭiyā . . .	Chisam kṣāṭi . . .	Nri ḍāmi . . .
Burā kajṭi . . .	Ek-mā bhāṭ lāwḍī . . .	Khāk sugāṭ gēli . . .
Kōṣal; nōchhā . . .	Chisam . . .	Khāchō . . .
Achhā . . .	Isi chisam . . .	Wā-sē-tā khāchō . . .

Karjari (Sāgar).	Karjari (Bāgar).	Natī (Sāgar Bāgar).
Bap-hāi-kā . . .	Bāpāi-kā . . .	Khabāpāi-rā . . .
Bap-hāi-kū . . .	Bāpāi-ku . . .	Khabāpāi-rō . . .
Bap-hāi-sē . . .	Bāpāi-se . . .	Khabāpāi-rē . . .
Chābki . . .	Ekkaṃ baigī . . .	Bek bōi . . .
Chābki-kā . . .	Ekkaṃ baigī-kā . . .	Bek bōi-rā . . .
Chābki-kū . . .	Ekkaṃ baigī-ku . . .	Bek bōi-rō . . .
Chābki-sē . . .	Ekkaṃ baigī-se . . .	Bek bōi-rē . . .
Dubāi chābki . . .	Janā baigī . . .	Dhār bōiyā . . .
Chābki . . .	Baigī . . .	Chhāi bōiyā . . .
Chābki-kā . . .	Baigī-kā . . .	Bōiyā-rā . . .
Chābki-kū . . .	Baigī-ku . . .	Bōiyā-rō . . .
Chābki-sē . . .	Baigī-se . . .	Bōiyā-rē . . .
Khachchhā naja . . .	Ekkaṃ niro kājā . . .	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi . . .
Khachchhā naja-kā . . .	Ekkaṃ niro kājā-kā . . .	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi-rā . . .
Khachchhā naja-kū . . .	Ekkaṃ niro kājā-ku . . .	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi-rō . . .
Khachchhā naja-sē . . .	Ekkaṃ niro kājā-se . . .	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi-rē . . .
Dubāi khachchhā naja . . .	Janā niro kājā . . .	Dhār kuchchhā kōdmi . . .
Khachchhā naja . . .	Niro kājā . . .	Chhāi kuchchhā kōdmi . . .
Khachchhā naja-kā . . .	Niro kājā-kā . . .	Kuchchhā kōdmiyā-rā . . .
Khachchhā naja-kū . . .	Niro kājā-ku . . .	Kuchchhā kōdmiyā-rō . . .
Khachchhā naja-sē . . .	Niro kājā-se . . .	Kuchchhā kōdmiyā-rē . . .
Khachchhā naja . . .	Ekkaṃ niro kājā . . .	Bek kuchchhā khēr . . .
Dhārā chābki . . .	Ekkaṃ kargāi baigī . . .	Bek rārā bōi . . .
Khachchhā naja . . .	Niro kājā . . .	Kuchchhā khōiyā . . .
Dhārā chābki . . .	Ekkaṃ kargāi baigī . . .	Bek rārā bōi . . .
Khachchhā . . .	Niro . . .	Kuchchhā . . .
.....	U-sā niro . . .	Chhāi kuchchhā . . .

Q. 61.	Sikhsut (Belgeend)	English.
Babā-kā	Yabā-nā	107. Of fathers.
Babā-kā	Yabā-nā	108. To fathers.
Babā-ee	Yabā-tā	109. From fathers.
Ekkap kachālī	Ek dikarī	110. A daughter.
Ekkap kachālī-kā	Ek dikarī-nā	111. Of a daughter.
Ekkap kachālī-kā	Ek dikarī-nā	112. To a daughter.
Ekkap kachālī-ee	Ek dikarī-tā	113. From a daughter.
Jand kachālīyā	Bā dikarīyā	114. Two daughters.
Kachālīyā	Dikarīyā	115. Daughters.
Kachālīyā-kā	Dikarīyā-nā	116. Of daughters.
Kachālīyā-kā	Dikarīyā-nā	117. To daughters.
Kachālīyā-ee	Dikarīyā-tā	118. From daughters.
Ekkap sēbit subākā	Ek chokā manekh	119. A good man.
Ekkap sēbit subākā-kā	Ek chokā manekh-nā	120. Of a good man.
Ekkap sēbit subākā-kā	Ek chokā manekh-nā	121. To a good man.
Ekkap sēbit subākā-ee	Ek chokā manekh-tā	122. From a good man.
Jand sēbit subākā	Bā chokā mankhā	123. Two good men.
Sēbit subākā	Chokā mankhā	124. Good men.
Sēbit subākā-kā	Chokā mankhā-nā	125. Of good men.
Sēbit subākā-kā	Chokā mankhā-nā	126. To good men.
Sēbit subākā-ee	Chokā mankhā-tā	127. From good men.
Ekkap sēbit subākā	Ek chokī bāyā	128. A good woman.
Ekkap bajib chiborā or chhanakā	Ek khattar chhokā	129. A bad boy.
Sēbit subākāyā	Chokīyā bāyāyā	130. Good women.
Ekkap bajib chiborā or chhanakā	Ek khattar chhokā	131. A bad girl.
Sēbit	Chokā	132. Good.
Iti sēbit	Iti chokā	133. Better.

English.	Oṛiā (Cuten).	Sāi (Ordinary).	Sāi (Criminal).
134. Best . . .	Badhā-ai sārā . . .	[Sabhāṣ saithā] chaṅgā . . .	[Sabhāṣ saithā] chāngā . . .
135. High . . .	Ūchā . . .	Uchehā . . .	Khuchehā . . .
136. Higher . . .	Wadhārō ūchā . . .	[Is thō] uchohā . . .	[Is thō] khuchchā . . .
137. Highest . . .	Badhā-thi ūchā . . .	[Sabhāṣ saithā] uchchā . . .	[Sabhāṣ saithā] khuchchā . . .
138. A horse . . .	Gārā, (hīant) . . .	Ghōrā . . .	Kūdrā . . .
139. A mare . . .	Gōrī, (hīant) . . .	Ghōrī . . .	Kūdri . . .
140. Horses . . .	Gōrā . . .	Ghōrō . . .	Kūdri . . .
141. Mares . . .	Gōriā . . .	Ghōriā . . .	Kūdriā . . .
142. A bull . . .	Goṭhā, ḡhagā . . .	Dhagṛā . . .	Kāngal . . .
143. A cow . . .	Gāy . . .	Gā . . .	Lāli . . .
144. Bulls . . .	Goṭhā, ḡhagā . . .	Dhagṛō . . .	Kāngal . . .
145. Cows . . .	Gāh . . .	Gā . . .	Lāli . . .
146. A dog . . .	Kutā . . .	Kōtā . . .	Bhōkal . . .
147. A bitch . . .	Kutī . . .	Kutti . . .	Bhōkū . . .
148. Dogs . . .	Kutā . . .	Kōtā . . .	Bhōkal . . .
149. Bitches . . .	Kutīā . . .	Kuttiā . . .	Bhōkū . . .
150. A he goat . . .	Bakrā . . .	Bakrā . . .	Chhābrā . . .
151. A female goat . . .	Bakri . . .	Bakri . . .	Chhābrī . . .
152. Goats . . .	Bakrā . . .	Bakrō . . .	Chhābrō . . .
153. A male deer . . .	Hārō . . .	Hārō . . .	Hārō . . .
154. A female deer . . .	Hārī . . .	Hārī . . .	Hārī . . .
155. Deer . . .	Hārō . . .	Hārō . . .	Hārō . . .
156. I am . . .	Hā sē . . .	Hā hā . . .	Hā hōpō . . .
157. Thou art . . .	Tā ai . . .	Tā hā . . .	Tā hōpō . . .
158. He is . . .	Sā ai . . .	U hā . . .	Bū hōpō . . .
159. We are . . .	Amī sē . . .	Hām hā . . .	Hām hōpō . . .
160. You are . . .	Tamī sawā . . .	Tām hō . . .	Tām hōpō . . .

Kōshōji (Akahe),	Gōshōji	Nyōshōji
Achichihō	Dahi chisau	Naha[4-s] khēchō
Khuchichō	Khuchichō	Khuchō
.....	Iati khuchichō	Wā-46-hi khuchō
.....	Dati khuchichō	Naha[4-s] khuchō
Rhōdā	Ek-mū ghōrtē	Khāk ghōdchō
Rhōdī	Ek-mū ghōrtī	Khāk ghōdchī
Rhōdā	Ghōrtē	Ghōdchō
Rhōdīyā	Ghōrtī	Ghōdchī
Bai	Ek-mū kēwas	Khāk nai
Rāy	Ek-mū kēwai	Khāk gāyī
Bai	Kēwas	Nai
Rāyī	Kēwai	Gāyī
Dhōkāl	Ek-mū dshaghā	Khāk jakāl
Rutī	Ek-mū dshaghī	Khāk jakālī
Dhōkāl	<u>Dshaghā</u>	Jakāl
Rutīyā	<u>Dshaghī</u>	Jakālī
Nōkkaḍ	Ek-mū rōmnā	Khāk nōkkaḍ
Nōkkaḍī	Ek-mū rōmnī	Khāk rōchnāḍī
Nōkkaḍ	Rōmnā	Nōkkaḍ
Raḥ : khōran	Nar harī	Khāk dhā[iv] khāran
Khōranī	Māḍī harī	Khāk nādī khāraḥ
Khōran	Harī	Khāran
Hū hā	Mī hapelā	Mā hā
Tā hā	Tā hapelā	Tā hā
Ō hā	Wō hapelā	Ō hā
Ham hā	Ham hapelā	Hamē hā
Tam hā	Tam hapelā	Tamē hā

Kasraj (Kilapuri).	Kasraj (Balgum).	Naji (State Rampur).
.....	Byādik nīrō	Rab-rō kuchahhā . . .
Khūchō	Khūchō	Khōchā
.....	Uw-da khūchō . . .	Chhūt khōchā . . .
.....	Byādik khūchō . . .	Rab-rō khōchā . . .
Ghurārō	Ekkay ghōḍō	Bok ruharchā . . .
Ghurārī	Ekkay ghōḍī	Bok ruharchī . . .
Rahut ghurārō . . .	Ghōḍā	Ruharchō
Rahut ghurārī . . .	Ghōḍī	Ruharchiyā
Sār-hōḷō	Ekkay pādō	Bok lād
Nāḍī	Ekkay ghāyō	Bok tiyārgī rāḷ . . .
.....	Pādā	Nāḍ
.....	Ghāyō	Tiyārgī rāḷ . . .
Jhūkū	Ekkay kutū	Bok chhumkar . . .
Jhūkūī	Ekkay kutūī	Bok chhumkarī . . .
.....	Kutū	Chhūt chhumkar . . .
.....	Kutū	Chhūt chhumkariyā . . .
Bakrā	Ekkay bakarō	Bok chakrā
Bakrī	Ekkay bakarī	Bok chakrī
Bakrā	Bakarā	Chakriyā
Khurā	Ekkay kharō	Kharau
Khurī	Ekkay kharī	Kharī
Khurā	Kharā	Chhūt kharau . . .
Maī hughā	Maī hō	Khā rō
Taī hughā	Yō hō	Kham hōchō
Wo haughā	Ē hō	Woh hōchō
Ham haughā; maī hughā .	Hamā hō	Kham hōchī
Taī hughā	Tamā hō	Nam hōchō

Quail.	Pāṇinī (Pāṇini).	English.
Sab- <u>we</u> <u>choti</u>	Ghaṇḍ <u>choti</u>	134. Best.
Uchā	Uchā	135. High.
Ist <u>umhā</u>	Ist <u>uchhā</u>	136. Higher.
Sab- <u>we</u> <u>umhā</u>	Ghaṇḍ <u>uchhā</u>	137. Highest.
Ekkaṇ <u>ghōḍā</u>	Ek <u>chhinā</u>	138. A horse.
Ekkaṇ <u>ghōḍī</u>	Ek <u>chhinī</u>	139. A mare.
Ghōḍā	Chhinā	140. Horses.
Ghōḍī	Chhinī	141. Mares.
Ekkaṇ <u>pāḍā</u>	Ek <u>pāḍā</u>	142. A bull.
Ekkaṇ <u>bhakkā</u>	Ek <u>gāyī</u>	143. A cow.
Pāḍā	Pāḍā	144. Bulls.
Bhakkā	Gāyī	145. Cows.
Ekkaṇ <u>kutā</u>	Ek <u>kutā</u>	146. A dog.
Ekkaṇ <u>kutī</u>	Ek <u>kutī</u>	147. A bitch.
Kutā	Kutā	148. Dogs.
Kutī	Kutī	149. Bitches.
Ekkaṇ <u>bakā</u>	Ek <u>bakā</u>	150. A he goat.
Ekkaṇ <u>chhā</u>	Ek <u>bakī</u>	151. A female goat.
Bakā	Bakā	152. Goats.
Ekkaṇ <u>maḥ</u> <u>harā</u>	Ek <u>harā</u>	153. A male deer.
Ekkaṇ <u>māḍī</u> <u>harā</u>	Ek <u>harī</u>	154. A female deer.
Harā	Harā	155. Deer.
Maḥ <u>thāra</u>	Mi <u>chhā</u>	156. I am.
Tā <u>thāra</u>	Tā <u>chhā</u>	157. Thou art.
Uḥ <u>thāra</u>	Tā <u>chhā</u>	158. He is.
Ham <u>thāra</u>	Ham <u>chhā</u>	159. We are.
Tam <u>thāra</u>	Tam <u>chhā</u>	160. You are.

English.	Ôqet (Cuteh).	Sâs (Ordinary).	Sâs (Criminal).
161. They are . . .	Nô si . . .	Uh haï . . .	Buh hópé . . .
162. I was . . .	Hô silâ . . .	Haû thiyyâ (or siyyâ, etc.)	Haû thiyyâ (or siyyâ, etc.)
163. Thou wast . . .	Tâ silâ . . .	Taû thiyyâ . . .	Taû thiyyâ . . .
164. He was . . .	Sô silâ . . .	Uh thiyyâ . . .	Buh thiyyâ . . .
165. We were . . .	Amî silê . . .	Ham thiyyê . . .	Ham thiyyê . . .
166. You were . . .	Tamî silê . . .	Tam thiyyê . . .	Tam thiyyê . . .
167. They were . . .	Sô silê . . .	Uh thiyyê . . .	Buh thiyyê . . .
168. Be . . .	Hô . . .	Hô (sing.), hōwô (plur.)	Hôp, hōpô . . .
169. To be . . .	Hôuê . . .	Hôuâ . . .	Hôpâ . . .
170. Being . . .	Hôuâ . . .	Hôuâ . . .	Hôpâ . . .
171. Having been . . .	Hôuê . . .	Hôuê . . .	Hôpê . . .
172. I may be . . .	Hô hawê . . .	Haû hōwê . . .	Haû hōpê . . .
173. I shall be . . .	Hô havi; hō haviâ . . .	Haû hōgrâ . . .	Hôpâgrâ . . .
174. I should be . . .	Machê-halê khapê . . .	Haû hâjâ . . .	Hôpâ . . .
175. Beat . . .	Mâr . . .	Mâr, mârô . . .	Lô, lôô . . .
176. To beat . . .	Mâyê . . .	Mârpâ . . .	Lôpâ . . .
177. Beating . . .	Mârti . . .	Mârtâ . . .	Lôti . . .
178. Having beaten . . .	Mârtê . . .	Mârtê . . .	Lôti . . .
179. I beat . . .	Hô mârê sê . . .	Haû mârê haï . . .	Haû lôti hōpê . . .
180. Thou beatest . . .	Tâ mârê si . . .	Taû mârê haï . . .	Taû lôti hōpê . . .
181. He beats . . .	Sô mârê sê . . .	Uh mârê haï . . .	Buh lôti hōpê . . .
182. We beat . . .	Amî mârê sê . . .	Ham mârê hâ . . .	Ham lôti hōpê . . .
183. You beat . . .	Tamî mârê sê . . .	Tam mârê hō . . .	Tam lôti hōpê . . .
184. They beat . . .	Sô mârê si . . .	Uh mârê haï . . .	Buh lôti hōpê . . .
185. I beat (Past Tense) . . .	Mê mârê . . .	Maï mârê . . .	Maï lôti . . .
186. Thou beatest (Past Tense) . . .	Tê mârê . . .	Taï mârê . . .	Taï lôti . . .
187. He beat (Past Tense) . . .	Tôpê mârê . . .	Ug mârê . . .	Bug lôti . . .

Külmet (Akola).	Günçl.	Myemelik.
Və hə	Yə hapelā	Və bē
Hā thiyā	Mi chhā	Mē hi
Tā thiyā	Tā chhā	Tā hi
Ō thiyā	Wā chhā	Ō hi
Ham thiyā	Ham chhā	Hamē hi
Tam thiyā	Tam chhā	Tamē hi
Vā thiyā	Yā chhā	Vā hi
Hā	Rhapel	Rhā
Hōnā	Rhapel-nā-kō	Rhōnākō
Hōtā	Rhapel-tā	Rhōtā
Huwā hā	Rhapel-hā	Rhōtā
Hū hōnā	Mi rhapelōngā	Mā rhānōngā
Hū hōngqū	Mi rhapelungō	Mā rhānōngō
Hū hōnā	Mi rhapelungōch	Mā rhānōngō hōyō
Mār	Lugā	Lōi
Mārōnā	Lugānā	Lōipōkō
Mārtā	Lugātā	Lōitā
Māryā hā	Lugāhā	Lōit-hā
Hū mārtā	Mi lugān	Mā lōitā
Tā mārtā	Tā lugān	Tā lōitā
Ō mārtā	Wā lugān	Ō lōit
Ham mārtā	Ham lugān	Hamē lōitā
Tam mārtā	Tam lugān	Tamē lōitā
Vā mārtā	Yā lugān	Vā lōitā
Mē-nā māryā	Mi lugāyō	Mē lōitā
Tā-nā māryā	Tā lugāyō	Tā lōitā
Un-nā māryā	Wā lugāyō	Ō lōitā

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgum).	Nālī (State Rāmpur).
Wō haughē	Ō hē	Wō hōchē
Maī hūdo	Maī hando	Khō nō
Taī hūdo	Yō hando	Khanū hōchā
Wō hūdo	Ē hando	Woh hōchā
.....	Hamē handā	Kham nō
.....	Tumē handā	Num nē
.....	Ō handā	Wē nō
.....	Huyōgō	Hō
.....	Hōwāku	Hōpmā
.....	Hōndo	Hōtō hō
.....	Hōwar-kō	Hōkar
Maī hūghasō	Maī hōwungō	Hōgō ke khō rō
Maī hūghasō	Maī hōwungō	Khō rōgā
.....	Maī hōnōch	Mij-kō hōpmā chāhiyō
Lugai	Kuṭwār	Lōthō
Lugaodirē	Kuṭwārku	Lōthnā
Lugaōdō	Kuṭwārde	Lōthō hō
Lugao-kō	Kuṭwār-kō	Lōth-kar
Maī lugairō	Maī kuṭwārō	Khā lōhtā rō
Taī lugairō	Yō kuṭwārō	Tā lōhtā hai
Wō lugairō	Ē kuṭwārō	Woh lōhtā hai
.....	Hamē kuṭwārō	Kham lōhtō hōchē
.....	Tumē kuṭwārō	Num lōhtō hō
.....	Ō kuṭwārō	Wē lōhtō hōchē
Maī lugaōdō	Maī kuṭrō	Khā-nō lōthā
Taī lugaoghīs	Yō kuṭrō	Num-nō lōthā
Wō lugaoghīs, lugais	Ē kuṭrō	Wē nō lōthā

Quail.	Sikalgel (Belgann).	English.
Uno thârre	Tâ chhê	161. They are.
Maï thârta-thâ	Mi hoto	162. I was.
Tâ thârta-thâ	Tâ hoto	163. Thou wast.
Uoe thârta-thâ	To hoto	164. He was.
Ham thârta-the	Ham hoto	165. We were.
Tame thârta-the	Tam hoto	166. You were.
Uno thârta-the	Tâ kutâ	167. They were.
Thak	That	168. Be.
Thakôkyâ	Thawânê	169. To be.
Thak-tâ	Thanoô	170. Being.
Thakôko	Thainê	171. Having been.
Maï thaknngâ	Mi thanngâ	172. I may be.
Maï thaknngâ	Mi thanngô	173. I shall be.
Maï thak-nâ	Mi thauch	174. I should be.
Ghâd	Nikâr	175. Beat.
Ghâd-ku	Nikârânê	176. To beat.
Ghâd-tâ	Nikârê	177. Beating.
Ghâd-ko	Nikârînê	178. Having beaten.
Maï ghâdtañ	Mi nikârâ	179. I beat.
Tâ ghâdtañ	Tâ nikâr	180. Thou beatest.
Uoe ghâdtañ	Tâ nikâr	181. He beats.
Ham ghâdte	Ham nikârâ	182. We beat.
Tame ghâdte	Tam nikâr	183. You beat.
Uoe ghâdte	Tê nikâr	184. They beat.
Maï ghâdyâ	Mi nikâryô	185. I beat (Past Tense).
Tâ ghâdyâ	Tâ nikâryô	186. Thou beatest (Past Tense).
Uoe ghâdyâ	To nikâryô	187. He beat (Past Tense).

English.	Ōgi (Creek).	Sēd (Ordinary).	Sēd (Criminal).
188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Amī mārā . . .	Hamē mārā . . .	Hamē lōyā . . .
189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Tamī mārā . . .	Tamē mārā . . .	Tamē lōyā . . .
190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Taīyē mārā . . .	Uaī upō mārā . . .	Buāī upō lōyā . . .
191. I am beating . . .	Hē mārē ēē . . .	Haū piā mārā haī, <i>or</i> haū mārī rihā haī.	Haū lōā hōpō, haū lōī rihā hōpō.
192. I was beating . . .	Hē mārē silā . . .	Haū mārā thiyyā (<i>or</i> siyyā)	Haū lōā thiyyā . . .
193. I had beaten . . .	Mē mārē silā . . .	Maī mārā thiyyā (<i>or</i> siyyā)	Maī lōyā thiyyā . . .
194. I may beat . . .	Hē mārē . . .	Haū mārē . . .	Haū lōē . . .
195. I shall beat . . .	Hē mārī . . .	Haū mārāgrā . . .	Haū lōāgrā . . .
196. Thou wilt beat . . .	Tē mārī . . .	Taū mārāgrā . . .	Taū lōāgrā . . .
197. He will beat . . .	Sē mārī . . .	Uh mārāgrā . . .	Buh lōgrā . . .
198. We shall beat . . .	Amī mārā . . .	Ham mārāgrā . . .	Ham lōāgrā . . .
199. You will beat . . .	Tamī mārā . . .	Tam mārāgrā . . .	Tam lōgrā . . .
200. They will beat . . .	Sā mārī . . .	Uh mārāgrā . . .	Buh lōāgrā . . .
201. I should beat . . .	Māchē mārē khapō . . .	Haū mārā . . .	Haū lōā . . .
202. I am beaten . . .	Hē mārālā ēē . . .	Haū mārā jattā haī . . .	Haū lōyā jartā hōpō . . .
203. I was beaten . . .	Hē mārālā silā . . .	Haū mārā jattā thiyyā (<i>or</i> siyyā).	Haū lōyā jartā thiyyā (<i>or</i> siyyā).
204. I shall be beaten . . .	Hē mārālā . . .	Haū mārā jāāgrā . . .	Haū lōyā jārāgrā . . .
205. I go . . .	Hē jāē ēē . . .	Haū jattā haī . . .	Haū jartā hōpō . . .
206. Thou goest . . .	Tē jāē ēē . . .	Taū jattā haī . . .	Taū jartā hōpō . . .
207. He goes . . .	Sē jāē ēē . . .	Uh jattā haī . . .	Buh jartā hōpō . . .
208. We go . . .	Amī jāē ēē . . .	Ham jattē hā . . .	Ham jartē hōpō . . .
209. You go . . .	Tamī jāwā sawā . . .	Tam jattē hō . . .	Tam jartā hōpō . . .
210. They go . . .	Sā jāē ēē . . .	Uh jattē haī . . .	Buh jartē hōpō . . .
211. I went . . .	Hē gālā . . .	Haū gayā (<i>pronounced gēā</i>)	Haū gangā (<i>or</i> jartā)
212. Thou wentest . . .	Tē gālā . . .	Taū gayā . . .	Taū gangā (<i>or</i> jartā)
213. He went . . .	Ō gālā . . .	Uh gayā . . .	Buh gangā (<i>or</i> jartā)
214. We went . . .	Amī gālā . . .	Ham gāē . . .	Ham gangā (<i>or</i> jartē)

Kāṣṭhā (Akola).	Gāṣṭhā	Bjāṣṭhā
Ham-nē māryā . . .	Ham lugāyō . . .	Hamō lōtō . . .
Tam-nē māryā . . .	Tam lugāyō . . .	Tamō lōtō . . .
Unh-nē māryā . . .	Yē lugāyō . . .	Vē lōtō . . .
Hā mārtā hē . . .	Mi lugāto hapēt . . .	Mē lōtā hā . . .
Hā mārtā thiyā . . .	Mō lugāto chhō . . .	Mē lōtā hī . . .
Mā-nē māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugā chhō . . .	Mē lōtōt . . .
Mā-nē mārnā . . .	Mi lugāwunāgō . . .	Mē lōtunāgō . . .
Hā mārnāg . . .	Mi lugāwunāgō . . .	Mē lōtunāgō . . .
Tā mārnāg . . .	Tō lugāwunāgō . . .	Tū lōtunāgō . . .
Wō mārnāg . . .	Wō lugāwunāgō . . .	Ū lōtunāgō . . .
Ham mārnāg . . .	Ham lugāwunāgō . . .	Hamō lōtunāgō . . .
Tam mārnāg . . .	Tam lugāwunāgō . . .	Tamō lōtunāgō . . .
Vē mārnāg . . .	Yē lugāwunāgō . . .	Vē lōtunāgō . . .
Mā-nē mārnā . . .	Mi lugāwūch . . .	Mē lōtūch hōtō . . .
Mu-ka māryā . . .	Mi lugāō bātō-hapētō . . .	Mē lōt dāt hā . . .
Mu-ka māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugāō bātō-chhō . . .	Mē lōt dāt hī . . .
Mu-ka mārnāg . . .	Mi lugāō bātunāgō . . .	Mē lōt dātunāgō . . .
Hā jāt . . .	Mi dāhāyilā . . .	Mē hīt . . .
Tā jāt . . .	Tō dāhāyilā . . .	Tū hīt . . .
Ō jāt . . .	Wō dāhāyilā . . .	Ū hīt . . .
Ham jātō . . .	Ham dāhāyilā . . .	Hamō hīt . . .
Tam jātō . . .	Tam dāhāyilā . . .	Tamō hīt . . .
Vē jātō . . .	Yē dāhāyilā . . .	Vē hīt . . .
Hā gayā . . .	Mi ghayilyō . . .	Mē hīt . . .
Tā gayā . . .	Tō ghayilyō . . .	Tū hīt . . .
Ō gayā . . .	Wō ghayilyō . . .	Ū hīt . . .
Ham gayō . . .	Ham ghayilyō . . .	Hamō hīt . . .

Kanjar (Sampur).	Kanjar (Belgaum).	Nat (State Raupur).
.....	Hamē kutrā . . .	Kham-nē lōthā . . .
.....	Tamē kutrā . . .	Nam-nē lōthā . . .
.....	Ō kutrā . . .	Unhō-nē lōthā . . .
Maī lugairō . . .	Maī kuḡdō hō . . .	Khū-lōthā rō . . .
Maī lugaḡdō . . .	Maī kuḡdō handō . . .	Khū-lōthā rahā thā . . .
Maī lugaighirō; maī lugairō	Maī kugrōdō . . .	Khū-nē lōthā thā . . .
.....	Maī kutuḡgō . . .	Hāgō kō khū-lōthō . . .
Maī lugaosō; maī lugaoghasī	Maī kutuḡgō . . .	Khū-lōthōgā . . .
Taī lugaoghasī . . .	Yō kutiḡgō . . .	Khanū-lōthārā . . .
Birō lugaoghasī . . .	Ē kutiḡgō . . .	Woh-lōthārā . . .
.....	Hamē kutiḡgā . . .	Kham-lōthērō . . .
.....	Tumē kutiḡgā . . .	Nam-lōthērō . . .
.....	Ō kutiḡgā . . .	Wā-lōthārō . . .
Maī lugaoghasī . . .	Maī kutwār-wā-kū hōnā . . .	Majh-kō lōthmā chāhiyē . . .
Maī lūgairō gaoghīrō . . .	Maī kutwār-linō . . .	Khū-lōthā gayā rō . . .
Maī lūgairō gaoghīrō thō . . .	Maī kutwār-gau . . .	Khū-lōthā gayā thā . . .
Maī lūgairō gaoghasī . . .	Maī kutwār-lōwūgō . . .	Khū-lōthā jāḡgā . . .
Maī jaoghado . . .	Maī nikharuḡgō . . .	Khū-jāsurtā . . .
Taī jaoghast . . .	Yō nikharuḡgō . . .	Nū-jāsurtā hai . . .
Wō jaoghast . . .	Ē nikharuḡgō . . .	Woh-jāsurtā hai . . .
.....	Hamē nikhardaī . . .	Kham-jāsurtō hōchō . . .
.....	Tumē nikhardaī . . .	Nam-jāsurtō hō . . .
.....	Ō nikhardaī . . .	Wō-jāsurtō hōchō . . .
Maī jaoghīrō . . .	Maī gawō . . .	Khū-gayā . . .
Taī jaoghīrō . . .	Yō gawō . . .	Nū-gayā . . .
Wō jaoghīrō . . .	Ē gawō . . .	Woh-gayā . . .
.....	Hamē gawā . . .	Kham-gayō . . .

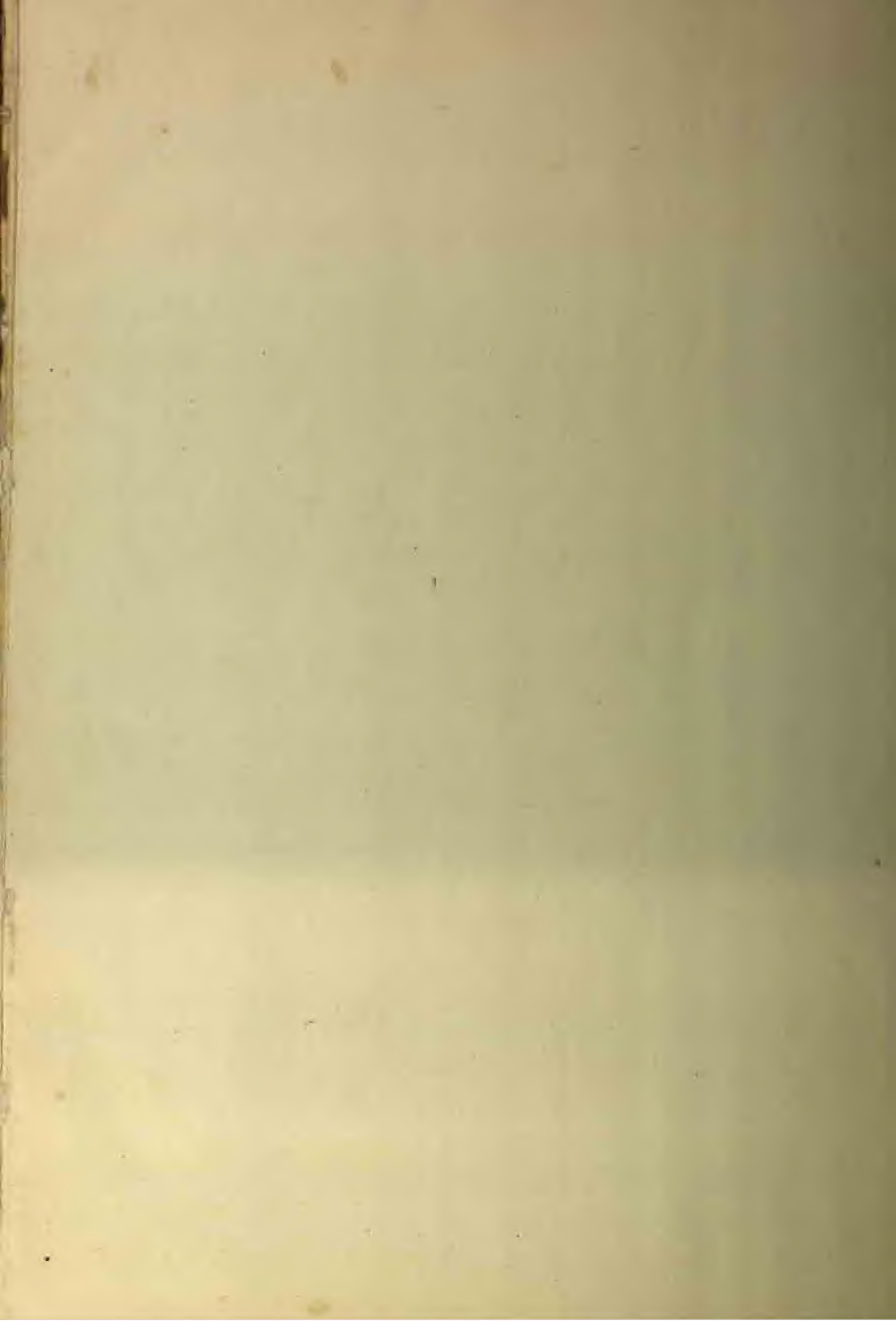
Quest.	Sikalgari (Belgum).	English.
Ham ghadyā	Ham alkāryō	188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Tume ghadyā	Tum alkāryō	189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Uno ghadyā	Tē alkāryō	190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Maĩ ghāqtā-hai	Mi nikārtāũ	191. I am beating.
Maĩ ghāqtā-hattā	Mi nikārtom	192. I was beating.
Maĩ ghāqyātā	Mi nikāryōm	193. I had beaten.
Maĩ ghādungā	Mi nikārnūgā	194. I may beat.
Maĩ ghādnūgā	Mi nikārnūgō	195. I shall beat.
Tū ghādnūgā	Tō nikārnūgō	196. Thou wilt beat.
Uso ghādnūgā	Tō nikārnūgō	197. He will beat.
Ham ghādnūgā	Ham nikārnūgō	198. We shall beat.
Tume ghādnūgā	Tum nikārnūgō	199. You will beat.
Uno ghādnūgā	Tō nikārnūgō	200. They will beat.
Maĩ ghādnā	MI nikārdnā	201. I should beat.
Maĩ ghād khāũ	Mi nikār-datyō-ohāũ	202. I am beaten.
Maĩ ghād khāyā	Mi nikār-datyōm	203. I was beaten.
Maĩ ghāũ khānūgā	Mi nikār-dnūnūgā	204. I shall be beaten.
Maĩ khāwataũ	Mi jākan	205. I go.
Tū khāwataũ	Tō jākan	206. Thou goest.
Uso khāwataũ	Tō jākan	207. He goes.
Ham khāwate	Ham jākan	208. We go.
Tume khāwate	Tum jākan	209. You go.
Uno khāwate	Tō jākan	210. They go.
Maĩ khāhuwā	Mi gāknyō	211. I went.
Tū khāhuwā	Tō gāknyō	212. Thou wastest.
Uso khāhuwā	Tō gāknyō	213. He went.
Ham khāhuwā	Ham gāknyō	214. We went.

English.	Oḍi (Quick).	Sāḍ (Ordinary).	Sāḍ (Criminal).
215. You went . . .	Tamī gēḷe . . .	Tam gne . . .	Tam gangē (jaṛe) . . .
216. They went . . .	Sā gēḷe . . .	Uh gne . . .	Buh gangē (jaṛe) . . .
217. Go . . .	Jā . . .	Jā, jā . . .	Jaar, jaaro . . .
218. Going . . .	Jātā . . .	Jattā . . .	Jaarta . . .
219. Gone . . .	Gēḷe . . .	Gaya . . .	Gauga, jaṛiā . . .
220. What is your name ?	Tam-chē nām kây ?	Tuhārā nā kyā hai ?	Tuhārgē nāṭhā kyā hōpē ?
221. How old is this horse ?	Hā gōṛā kawpāk mē ?	Is ghōṛē-gī kyā 'umr hai ?	Bis kūrē-gī kyā khamr hōpē ?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Kashmir aṭhō-ti kitāk chhōṛa sē ?	Bethō Kashmirā tāi kinni dūr hai ?	Bethō Neshmirā tāi kinni khadūr hōpē ?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tam-chē hā-chē gharā-mā kitāk pūt ai ?	Tuhārō bappā-gē gharā bich kitā pūt hai ?	Tuhārgē bāptō-gē khaulē kitā bōṛ hōpē ?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	Āj mē lāmā path karā sē	Ājj hañ bari dūr pariā .	Kōjj hañ jagi khadūr pariā.
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	Māchō kākō-chā pūt tē-chō bāṇi-nē pēḷā sē.	Mērō kākō-gā pūt nakā bāṇā sath bāḷā hā hai.	Mērgō kākō-gā bōṛa buskā (or khapṇā) dhabāṇā nāth chhāḷā hōpiā hōpē.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Gharā-mā dhōṛē gōṛō-chā kēṭhā sē.	Baggē ghōṛē-gī kāṭhi gharā bich hai.	Dhabaggē kūrē-gī nāṭhi khaulē bich hōpē.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	Tē-chi puthā mātō kēṭhā māḍā.	Kāṭhi nakā piṭhā par bāḷō	Nāṭhi buskā piṭhā khōpar ḍāwō.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Mē tē-chō pūtā-nē ghaṇē phatkē mārē sē.	Māi nakē pūtā-gā barē kōḷē (balat or sotē) mārē.	Māi buskō bōṛā-gā jadē nōṭē (nhoṭē) lō.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Sū ḍāgrā mātō chōṇē charāvē sē.	Uh pahārā-giā chōṇā uppar ḍāgar chagātā hai.	Buh nahārā-giā nōṭiā khōpar khadāgar nūḡātā hōpē.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	Sū o jhāṛē nichē gōṛō mātō bēḷā sē.	Uh us rukkhā-gē tal ghōṛā-gē uppar baithā hai.	Buh bus khukkhā-gē tal kūrē khōpar ṭhāṭkiā hōpē.
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	Ē-chi bāṇi-karā o-chā bāṇi chā sē.	Uskā bhāt nakā bāṇā sathā lamā hai.	Buskā bhāṭi buskā (or khapṇā) dhabāṇā mātā khālamā hōpē.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	Ē-chi kimat aḍhi rūpiē sē .	Iskā mōḷ dhāt rūpayyē hai	Biskā chimul nāḷi baluē (or rukṇā or lāḷē) hōpē.
233. My father lives in that small house.	Māchā hā o dhārē gharā-mā rō-sē.	Mērā bāpp usukē gharā bich rahtā hai.	Mērgā bāptā bus khikē khaulē bich raḡtiā hōpē.
234. Give this rupee to him	Hā rūpiā tē-nē dēwā .	Uskō hā rūpayyā dē .	Buskō bā rukṇā (baluā, lāḷā) dēp.
235. Take those rupees from him.	Iē rūpiē tē pāsō-thi ghēwā .	Uskō pāsā uh rūpayyē lēi lē	Buskō nāsā buh rukṇē lēpi lēp.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Ē-nē khōḥ mārā anē rāḍhva-ti bāḷhā.	Uskō achōḥiā tarā mārō tē rassē saththi baddhō.	Buskō chēngulā narā lōṛ tō khassē nāṭh chhōḍwō.
237. Draw water from the well.	Kuwē-māy-ti pāṇi kēḍhā .	Us khōḍ bichhā pāṇi kēḍhō.	Bus nūā khābichhā chāḷ kēḍhō.
238. Walk before me . . .	Mā agiā chāl . . .	Mērē aggē tarō . . .	Mērgē kuggē nūrō . . .
239. Whom boy comes behind you ?	Tamē wāṣē kō-chā pūt āwē sē ?	Tuhārō pichhē kiskā pūt ātā hai ?	Tuhārgē nichhē kiskā bōṛā astā hōpē ?
240. From whom did you buy that ?	Tamē hāw kō pāsō-ti vēchātī ghēḷē ?	Tamē kis-thō nē mōḷē liyā ?	Tamē kis-thō buh khamōḷē lēpiā ?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	Gāmā-chā ek hātāwārē pāsō-ti.	Gāwā-gē ēkki dukandārā pāsā.	Dhāmō-(or nādā)-gē bekki kōṭiā-wāḷē nāsā.

Kōshūti (Akola).	Gārdi.	Mylasāli.
Tam gayō	Tam ghayilyō	Tamē hīṭō
Vō gayō	Yō ghayilyō	Vō hīṭō
Jā	Dhāyil	Hitrad
Chalyō	Dhāltō	Hīṭō
Gayā	Ghailō	Hīṭō
Tērā nāwchhā kyā hō ?	Tērō ohyōnō kō ?	Tērō nokadō kō ?
Is rhōḍā-kī humbar rōtti hāchhō ?	Ē ghōṭṭō-kā kitmō bars ?	Hō ghōḍchō-kā kitānō narnā ?
Bōthō-ai Kāsmir rōtti dār hō ?	Jūgā-ai Kāsmir kitmō dār ?	Hyā-ai Kāsmir kitānō dāg ?
Tērō hāppā-kō khōggō kōttō ohhōrō hō ?	Tērō bhāwutō-kō nānd-mā kitmō lāwḍō ?	Tērō māwutō-kō khōk-mō kitānō goipō ?
Āj bahōttā dār-ai phiri āyā.	Mī āj bhārkam hāt chāl-kō hāyilyō.	Mō khāj chhōi dōg rāt nālō.
Mērō kākō-kō chhōrō-kō nō-kō bhāṇā-ai bihā lagyā.	Wākō bhāntchī mērō kākō-kō lāwḍō-kō wālālī.	Wākī bhāntī mērō ghākā-kō goipō-kō khichwāḍī.
Us khōggō-mō dhōthō rhōḍō-kā khōgtī hā.	Wā nānd-mā khujlō ghōḍ-kā khōgtī chapel.	Wā khōk-mō dhōthō ghōḍchō nāhōgtī hōlō.
Us-kā nūṭī-par khōgtī dhar.	Wōkō pāndchī-pa khōgtī ghāl.	Wākī nūṭ-kō khāpar nāhōgtī nākōḍī.
Us-kō chhōrō-kū hū jōhō phatke thāyō.	Mī wōkō lāwḍō-kā bhārkam lagāyō.	Mō wākī goipō-kō chhōrō lō.
O us nākō-par dhar charāi chiyā.	Wā wā jōkūtī-pa kēwā charāyillā hō.	O nākōḍī-kō khāpar ā nōl mārā rhōkō hōlō.
Us nhāḍā-kō tanō rhōḍō-par thōktā hōchhō.	Wō wā dhāḍō-kō-tan ghōṭ-kā-pa thūgyā hō.	Nhāḍ-kō mājō o gūḍchō khāpar tō-rōkō.
Us-kā bhāwtā nō-kō bhāṇā-ai khāchhā hō.	Wōkō bhānchī-ai oke bhāk-ḍā khāchhō chapel.	Wākā bhāntī wākī bhāk-ḍā khāchhō hōlō.
Bus-kā mōl kōḍhāi jirhō hō.	Oki kimmat khāḍō gāndilō.	Wākī kimmat khāḍōi dhōkiyā.
Mērō hāptā bus nāwchhā khōggō-mō rōktā hōchhō.	Mērō bhāwutō nānchō nānd-mā chapelā.	Mērō māwutō wā nōkōnō khōk-mō rhōkō.
Yō jiwā bus-kō dōppō .	O-kō yō gāndilō wālā .	Wā-kā yō dhōkiyā khichwāḍ.
Bus-kō nājikā-sō nō jirhō lēp.	Ē gāndilō wōkōp-sō lāyil .	Wā-pōsō yō dhōkiyā rhōḍōg-lēl.
Bus-kā rōp tāj ān bus-kā nākōyā-ai nāḍhī lā.	Oke chisām lāgā-kā jawḍī-ai chūwānī.	Wā-kā khāchō lō-kār jōkūtī-ai chōnd.
Ruyō-mō-ai chōnt kagḍ .	Thāḍgtī-mā-sē nirmā ghāichmōl.	Rāwāḍī-mō-ai chāyī sōḍg-bōl.
Mērō nhāmō nāl . .	Mērō khagāḍī chāl . .	Mērō khagāḍī nālāḍ .
Tērō nichōhā rīā-kā bōrā āartā ?	Tērō dhāichhālī-sō kōn-kā lāwḍō hāyilā ?	Tērō rīpchō kōp-kō gōḍī lāmāwāḍā ?
Byō rīṭhō-ai mōlō lēpyā ?	Tā yō kōn-kā-ai mōl lūnīlō ?	Tā yō kōp-pōsō dīmāl hōnō ?
Bus rhōḍō-kō nūkāndārā-thōt.	Wā nānd-kō oke-mā rawānyā-kān-ai .	Wā nhōḍō-kā nūkānwālō-pōt.

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Nālī (State Rampur).
.....	Tumō gawā	Num gayō
.....	Ō gawā	Wē gayō
Jaogh	Nikhar	Jāo
Jaughado	Nikharō	Jāsūtō hō
Raūch gaughirō	Nikhar-gaugri	Jāsūtā huā
Tērō kā nao-hēlō ?	Tērō nām kā ?	Numhārā kyā nām hai ?
H ghupārō kittō rūphō hai ?	Ē ghōḍō-ki kitti amar ?	Is ruhārḥō-ki kyā khumar hai ?
Hū-sē Kashmīr kitti durhōlē hūghō ?	Hyāndē Kāsmīr kitnō dūr hō ?	Ehō-sē Kashmīr kitni dūr hai ?
Tērō bap-hēlā-ki ribō-mā kai chūbkā hūghō ?	Tērō bāpō-ke nandō-mā kitti baidā hō ?	Numhārō khabāp-ke rōhallā-mē kitnō lōhrō hōchō ?
Maī āj dūr-hēlō gaughirō .	Maī āj bahut dūr rastō chālō hō.	Hū āj chhūṭi khadōr chālā rō.
Mērō kākā-kā chūbkō burō-ki ruhīn bīhāis.	Urō-ki bhaynū mērō kākā-ke baidā-ku dīnā-hō.	Mērō kākā-kā lōhrā us-ki chhēn-sē byāhā gayā.
Ribō-mā rapōḍ ghupārō-kā jin-hēlī hai.	Ō nandō-mā ūjālō ghōḍō-ki jina hō.	Rōhallā-mē us ruhārḥō-kā gādīlā hai.
Birō-ki pīṭhēlī-par jin-hēlī ṭhikā.	Urō-ki pīṭhēlī-po jina ḍālwar	Us-ke pēṭhā-par gaddā dharō.
Maī birō-ke chūbkā-kū rahut chālut lagairō.	Maī urō-ki baidā-ku bahut ghaḍwāḍō-hō.	Mē us-ke lōhrō-ke chhūṭi lōthā.
Birō ruhārā-ki ruṭiā par gahēlī chāghadi.	Yō jōkō-po janāwarō chārwardō hō.	Woh pahārā-ki gōth par nōhō chārā rahā hai.
Birō pōrhēlā tar ghupārā par chhāṭhō hai.	Ē ḍahāḍō-ke jīmīni ghōḍō-ke khūpar chēṭrō-hō.	Woh us pēr-ki khatar bēk ruhārḥī-par ṭhōkā hai.
Birō-ke chibhāṭ burā-ki rahīnā-sē lambā hai.	Urō-ke bhāi urō-ki bhaynū-ḍē khūñchī hō.	Us-kā bhāṭā us-ki chhannī-sē chhūṭi khālambā hai.
Birō-kā dam-hēlā khārāṭ gōlī hai.	Us-ki kinmat jawādūā kailā.	Us-ki rinmat khāi khambā hai.
Mērō tap-hēlō birō chhūṭārō ribō-mē hō.	Mērō bāpōne wō nannke nandō-mā rahēndō.	Mērā nāp us nannhō rōhallā-mē rōhtā hai.
Jā gōlī birō tīōr	Yō kailā urō-ku kīdō	Yah khambā us-ke dēṭī dā
Wō gōlī birō-sē lō-lingh	Urō-ke pās-ḍē wō kailā chāutgā-lō.	Woh khambā us-sē lēṭī lō
Birō-ke khōb lugal banr jibhōrēlī-sē chāḍh.	Urō-ku nīrō ghaḍwāḍ-ke rasēlī-ḍē bandwār.	Us khōb lōthō aur jōriyō-sē bādhē dō.
Dhūā-sē nīmānū nikār	Bawāḍī-mā-ḍē nīwāṭī khīch-wār.	Rōī-sē chhāī ṭēkī lō
Mērō khāgēlō chāugh	Mērō sambār chālwar	Mērō gōgē chālō
Tērō nīchhō kīnō-ke chūbkō aughadō ?	Tērō pīchwāḍ-ḍē kīrō-ke baidō awardō ?	Numhārō nīchhō kīn-kā bōhrā āsūtā hai ?
Kīnō-sē tāī mulah lō lūghirō ?	Yō kīrō-ke pās-ḍē kīmatīne līnō ?	Num-nō woh nīch kīn-sē lēṭī hī ?
Ghobēlā-ke bēk bānīō-sē	Ō khōḍō-ke akkay dūkān-wālā-ke pās-ḍē.	Nandwā-ke bēk bāniyā-ḍē

Qash.	Sikangsi (Sikangsi).	English.
Tume khūhuwā	Tum gakyō	215. You want.
Uno khūhuwā	Tō gakyō	216. They want.
Khū	Jākan	217. Go.
Khōwatā	Jākantā	218. Going.
Khōwāsā	Gaknat	219. Gone.
Tārā nau kyā ?	Tārā nām sī ?	220. What is your name ?
Yē ghōḍe-ku kette sāl ?	Yō ohimnā-nō kokhalā warakh ?	221. How old is this horse ?
Hyāsi Kāsmir kette dūr ?	Hyā-tō Kāsmir kokhalā dūr ?	222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tārā bābā-kā nann-me kettā kachōle ?	Tārā yabā-nā khōl-mā kokhalā dikarā chhā ?	223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Maī āj bahut dūr bat chālwaḍku awaryā	Mī āj ghaṇā dūr wāt chālyō	224. I have walked a long way to-day.
Uso bhāp, mērā chichhō-kā kachōlā-ku kidyātai	Tinā bhōn mārā kākā-nā dikarā-nō garyōch	225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.
O nann-me njale ghōḍe-ke khōgr thag-tiyē	Tinā khōl-mā ghōḍe ohimnā-nō khōgr chhā	226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.
Uakti pūt-kā uppar khōgr sāl	Tinā pūḍā-par khōgr ghāgal	227. Put the saddle upon his back.
Maī nakā kachōlā-ku bahut ghāḍyā-haū	Mī tinā chhōknān ghaṇtōl nikāryō	228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.
Uso o dōngar-ke uppar goṛpe charwāḍtā hai	Tō tēkadā-par dhōrō charwāḍyō	229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.
Uso o dīhād-ke talle ghōḍe-ke uppar batwāḍe	Tō dīhād khōṭe ohimnā-par bakhiyā	230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.
Uekā bhai nakā bhāp-se unchā thātaū	Tinā bhāp-ti tinā bhāpī uchhō chhō	231. His brother is taller than his sister.
Uakti kimmat jawāns kailā	Tinā kimmat bhāḍī sabādā	232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.
Mērā bābā o subak nann-me thagtaū	Mārō yabō tō bhānchōn khōl-mā rakhān	233. My father lives in that small house.
Uaku o kailā kīd	Tinō yō sabādā gār	234. Give this rupee to him.
O kalle uske pās-te māngālīe	Ti-kantā yō sabādā chigārīlō	235. Take those rupees from him.
Uso sēbtā tarā-se ghāḍko rōṭ-se bandāl	Tinō ghaṇtōl nikārī-nō dōḍḍā-tō chhānd	236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.
Bāwāḍī-mē-sī nīrgā khaṭchāl	Ir-mā-tō pāul kāgōl	237. Draw water from the well.
Mērā sāmne chālwaḍ	Mō khānō chāgal	238. Walk before me.
Tārā pichōsi kis-kā chhankā awartaū ?	Tārā pāchō kīnō chhōknō akhiyō ?	239. Whose boy comes behind you ?
Kis-ke pās-te tume o maul-ku hidāpyā ?	Tō tō kī-kantō khikkātō-lakhiyō ?	240. From whom did you buy that ?
Khōḍe-kā ektap-dakānwālā pāste	Khōḍā-nā wātīyā-kantō	241. From a shopkeeper of the village.



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